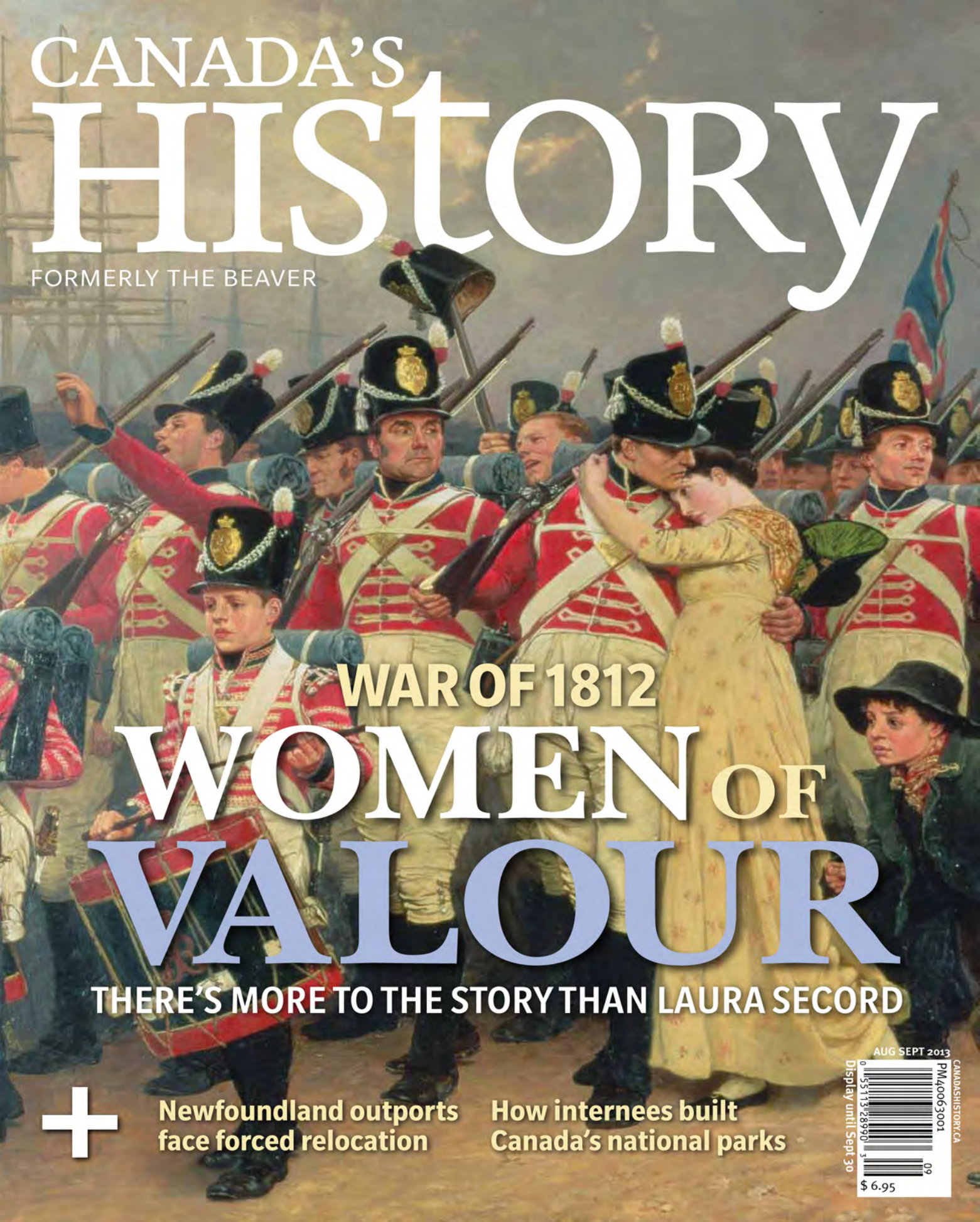

CANADA'S HISTORY

FORMERLY THE BEAVER

WAR OF 1812

WOMEN OF VALOUR

THERE'S MORE TO THE STORY THAN LAURA SECORD

+

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How internees built Canada's national parks

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Canada

Just desserts

Believe it or not, one of the best things about my elementary school experience was the school cafeteria.

The very phrase "school cafeteria" conjures mental images of sullen, tattooed servers ladling gruel to students. But not at Cyrus Eaton Elementary. I loved everything: the sloppy joes, the macaroni and cheese, and, most of all, the pudding.

Laura Secord pudding, to be precise.

As a history magazine editor, it pains me to admit this, but it took years before I realized that there was more to Secord than chocolate, butterscotch, and vanilla.

Maybe it was the Heritage Minute that finally cleared the haze. You remember that one, right? I can still hear the actress playing Secord breathlessly demand, "Take me to Fitzgibbon!"

I'd bet that if you asked Canadians to name a prominent woman from the War of 1812, virtually every answer would begin and end with Secord. Thankfully, historians such as Dianne Graves are doing their best to rectify this. Her story, "Women of Valour," goes beyond the familiar Secord narrative to bring us the stories of a host of women who served and sacrificed in that now-two-centuries-old conflict.

MARIANNE HELM

Some of the women were wives of officers or soldiers. Some were heads of households living in towns and villages affected by the fighting. Others still were nurses who helped heal the wounded and console the dying.

Until recent times, their stories had been obscured by the the largely male-dominated narratives written by previous generations of historians, most of whom were men.

This is not to denigrate the men who wrote these histories, nor their subject matter. It's just that there is so much more to the War of 1812 story than charging uphill in the face of heavy cannon fire à la Brock. Only by listening to other voices from history, those on the margins of the textbooks, do we get a full picture of the past.

Over the next few years, Canada will be commemorating many key dates in military history. It began in 2012 with the bicentennial of the War of 1812, a conflict of more than two and a half years duration whose anniversaries will not wrap up until February 2015. By then, we'll already have marked the centennial of the outbreak of the First World War. Also on the horizon is the seventy-fifth anniversary of the start of the Second World War, in 2014.

With such major events come major opportunities to explore the lesser-known stories that surround them.

At *Canada's History*, we look forward to sharing more tales of women of valour in the months and years to come.

Contributors

Bill Waiser is the author of "Park Prisoners," a story about how forced labour was used to build Western Canada's national parks. Waiser is a history professor at the University of Saskatchewan who has published over a dozen books, including *Park Prisoners: The Untold Story of Western Canada's Parks* (1995). Waiser was awarded the Saskatchewan Order of Merit, elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and named a distinguished university professor. He is also a runner, gardener, hiker, and paddler.

Dianne Graves wrote about the unsung heroines of the War of 1812 in "Women of Valour." Graves, originally from southeast England, studied modern languages and pursued a career in international education and travel. Having always had a keen interest in history, she began writing when she moved to Canada. Her second book, *In the Midst of Alarms: The Untold Story of Women and the War of 1812*, was published in 2007. Graves has also been a consultant for a number of heritage and film projects, including the WNED documentary *The War of 1812*.

Canada's History columnist Tina Loo wrote this issue's feature about Newfoundland resettlement. Loo teaches Canadian history and environmental history at the University of British Columbia. She is currently writing a book on forced relocations in postwar Canada. *Moved by the State* looks at urban renewal, the relocation of Inuit in the central Arctic, and outport resettlement in Newfoundland as a way to understand the meanings of social security, the challenges confronting the liberal welfare state, and what people thought government was for.

Mark Reynolds, author of "Canada Invades El Salvador," is a freelance writer who has lived in Montreal, France, Los Angeles, and now Chicago, accompanied at each stop by his Nova Scotia accent. He has written for numerous publications, but his favourite articles are those contributed to *Canada's History (The Beaver)*. These stories have ranged from Portugal's mysterious sixteenth-century colony on Cape Breton to the Cold War diplomacy that led to the release of a notorious Nazi. He has two daughters who break his heart every time they finish the alphabet with "zee."

Skating through the past

I read with great interest the article on the Montreal Maroons, "Hockey's High Rollers" [April–May 2013]. My father had season tickets to the Montreal Canadiens and was as big a fan of the Habs as anyone from his teen years until his death in 1998. However, he told me that when he was a young boy he wore Maroons sweaters.

The two solitudes were alive and well in the early 1930s, as he said he hated the Canadiens! He only switched loyalties after the death of the Maroons.

I am a third-generation anglo Montrealer and, ultimately, third-generation Canadiens' fan. But, if things had turned out differently in the 1930s, I might have been a Maroons fan, like my dad and his dad were. Now, my son is a fourth-generation Canadiens fan, proudly wearing "le CH and bleu-blanc-rouge." Would he have looked good in maroon? We will never know!

David C. Halkett
New Westminster, British Columbia

Revisiting First Nations history

Congratulations to publisher Deborah Morrison for laying out some uncomfortable truths about our ongoing relationship with our First Nations ["Past Imperfect," April–May 2013]. She is correct to suggest that Canada's History Society could play a more active role to ensure that Canadians understand the past and the background to the issues today.

Rick Whitman
Wolfville, Nova Scotia

I appreciate very much Deborah Morrison's article "Past Imperfect." What a problem we have in trying to understand our relationship with our Native Canadian friends! There are times when I feel we are groping in the dark for a solution — at least in the way things are going now.

But then, we have no option to give up. One thing that I have come to realize is that we are in for a long struggle to turn around the imperfections of the past. But it is a struggle we must pursue with patience and resolve.

Brian Gee
Whitby, Ontario

Facing the facts about Riel

I have to say that I am not impressed with a few of our politicians of late who pick up a cause for political gain and would serve as historical revisionists by trying to have Louis Riel's treason conviction overturned, declare him a Father of Confederation, and make him into a national hero.

We have to accept the facts of history, even when we don't like them. We also must accept the times, including the social, economic, and political conditions in which the drama of two rebellions unfolded. Many seem to forget this, as Senior Editor Nelle Oosterom reminded us in her article, "Shifting Riel-ity" [February-March 2013], when she wrote: "In 1875, Parliament granted Riel amnesty for the Red River Rebellion, including his role in the execution of surveyor Thomas Scott. Ten years later ... Riel was hanged for treason in connection with the 1885 North-West Rebellion."

I see Riel more as a tragic hero, but one who is still guilty of treason. He had two chances at trying to right the wrongs brought on in part by Ottawa, but in both cases he chose violence as his means to resolve the plight of the Métis and his Aboriginal allies. For him to resort to violence again in 1885 doesn't make him a rebel with a cause, for which Canadians should make him a national hero! Yes, he will ever live as a hero in the eyes of the Métis, and this is understandable. But, while the cause had many merits, resorting to violence on that scale is never the answer.

Brian Preston
Portland, Ontario

Story hits wrong note

How can you regard John Lennon and Yoko Ono's bed-in as a significant moment in Canadian history ["Come Together," April–May 2013]? Yoko Ono was a performance artist before she met John, and John Lennon seemed to believe himself the incarnation of the Second Coming. Many saw the bed-in as a trivial stunt and the pair of them as phonies. I know because I lived in Montreal at the time.

Susan Segal
Thornhill,Ontario

Canada's History magazine welcomes your comments. Email us at editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada. Please include your address and phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

A little research goes a long way to avoiding disaster

Many resources are available for keeping your heirlooms safely stored. by Paul Jones

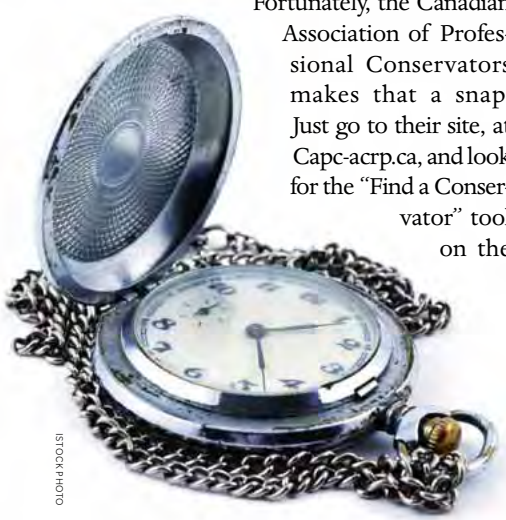
In the June-July Roots column, we learned about the conservation disasters inflicted by well-meaning folk on their most valued heirlooms and keepsakes — tattered wedding dresses, disintegrating photo albums, yellowing documents, disfigured artworks. An essential lesson from the school of hard knocks: Always consult a professional conservator when you're uncertain about how to preserve an item, especially if it needs repair or restoration.

Before we take up that challenge, it's time to define our terms. Conservation? Preservation? Restoration? Aren't these all more or less the same thing? Well, not really.

The most general term, embracing the others, is "conservation," hence "conservators" for the profession. If a document or heirloom is in good condition, then the conservator's most important decision is "preservation," as in how to store or display it safely to minimize deterioration.

Otherwise, the keepsake may need the conservator's intervention to stabilize it to ward off further damage or to restore or repair it to counteract the ravages of wear and tear.

So how do you locate a conservator? Fortunately, the Canadian Association of Professional Conservators makes that a snap. Just go to their site, at Capc-acrp.ca, and look for the "Find a Conservator" tool on the right-hand side of the home page.



ISTOCK PHOTO

You can search by location or by area of specialty (for example, books, furniture, photographs, and so on). All members meet professional standards for training and experience and have passed a qualifying examination.

If you have a highly specialized problem, you may need to look south of the border for assistance. The American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (conservation-us.org) offers a similar tool to identify appropriate conservators.

Also bear in mind that almost any university, library, museum, or archive will have access to conservators, either on staff or on contract. They will often have helpful suggestions.

As with retaining any professional, you will want to satisfy yourself as to the candidate's training and experience. For a particularly large or sensitive job, you should seek references.

More likely, though, your papers and heirlooms are in good shape and you just want to make sure you're storing them correctly. With a little care, you can probably figure this out for yourself by consulting credible books and online resources.

Chief among these is Kennis Kim's *Conserving, Preserving and Restoring Your Heritage*, a 2010 book published by the Ontario Genealogical Society and Dundurn Press. Comprehensive and forward-looking — there's a chapter on preserving digital media — this accessible book will address just about every situation encountered by the Canadian do-it-yourself conservator. (Full disclosure: Kim has been a helpful source to me in researching this and the previous column.)

You can order Kim's book and similar titles from specialty genealogy retailers such as Global Genealogy (GlobalGenealogy.com) as well as from major online booksellers, who offer both print and e-book versions.

Online, you'll find great resources at the sites of companies that market archival products. Gaylord Brothers (Gaylord.com) provides not only helpful answers to many common conservation questions but also a downloadable guide to collections care. The Light Impressions catalog, available on request at LightImpressionsDirect.com, affords many happy moments of browsing as well as tips and pointers for the would-be conservator.

Both of these companies are well-regarded sources for the various boxes, folders, encapsulation materials, boards, and papers you will need to preserve your family documents and heirlooms. Also well regarded is University Products (UniversityProducts.com).

To purchase in Canada, conservators rely on Carr McLean (CarrMclean.ca) and Lines 'n Curves (LinesAndCurves.com). You can also try your luck at art, office supply, and other specialty retailers. Just make sure you're getting a product that delivers on its marketing promises of archival quality.

Finally, a note for parents of teens interested in the arts. Conservation may be one of the few practical careers that a fine arts degree can lead to — although expertise in chemistry, materials science, or even structural engineering would also come in handy. Several community colleges and universities offer diploma programs in conservation-related disciplines, and Queen's University boasts a Master of Art Conservation program.

Photographic conservators in particular can more or less write their own ticket. There aren't many fields where you can make an assertion like that. Just like the good old days.

Paul Jones, a former publisher, is a writer, consultant, and avid genealogical researcher.

HIDDEN HERITAGE

Ruthven

Cayuga, Ontario, 1845–46

In Cayuga, formerly Indiana, Ontario, sits a large stone manor that looks like it belongs in the English or perhaps the Italian countryside. The former residence of David Thompson (1793–1851) — not to be confused with the explorer — was built in 1845–46 and was to be the jewel of his massive riverside property. Thompson was a wealthy citizen. He was involved in the building of the Welland Canal and was also a mill owner and a Member of Parliament.

JESSICA MACE

The mansion is in the Greek revival style, fairly peculiar for Canada but quite common in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century England as well as in America. The body of the house is rectangular in plan. Both the front and rear facades appear as a two-storey Doric temple, giving the house an air of grandeur and formality. The interior of the house is lavishly decorated with marble fireplaces, elaborate decorative trim, and a spiralling central staircase that rises up the full height of the house and is topped by a skylight.

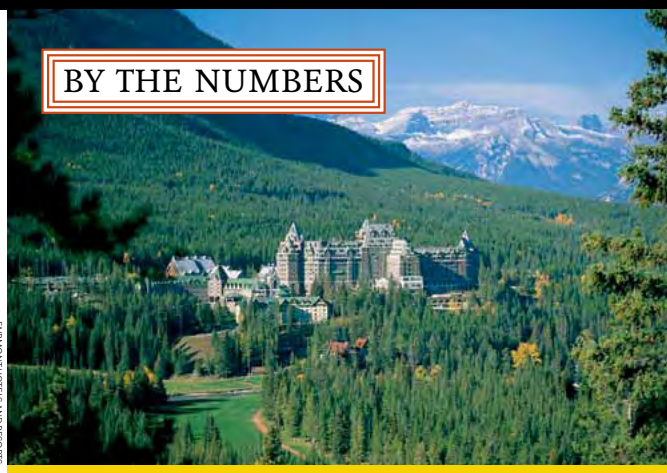
The architect for Ruthven is believed to have been John Lathshaw (1806–1883), who was responsible for Willowbank in Queenston, Ontario (1834), also in the Greek revival style. The house is attributed to Lathshaw based on the fine quality of both Willowbank and Ruthven at a time when few Greek revival houses were being built on this scale in Canada.

Ruthven's splendour speaks to a time before the establishment of the railroad, when waterways were the main source of transportation and industry in Ontario.

— Jessica Mace

Contributed by the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, a learned society devoted to the examination of Canada's built environment. See canadaarchitecture.org.

BY THE NUMBERS



FAIRMONT HOTELS AND RESORTS

Banff Springs Hotel

Canadian Pacific Railway general manager William Cornelius Van Horne had the Banff Springs Hotel built at the confluence of the Bow and Spray rivers in what is now Banff National Park. Designed by New York architect Bruce Price and completed 125 years ago, it was the most impressive of a series of hotels created in the 1880s to bring tourists to the Canadian West. Since then, it has undergone a number of additions, renovations, and reconstruction efforts and has hosted royalty, political leaders, and celebrities. In 1992 the hotel was declared a National Historic Site.

250,000 Cost in dollars of the original hotel, which faced away from the area's most beautiful scenery due to a builder's mistake.

1,530 Guests during the first season of operation in 1888. They paid $3.50 per night for one of the 250 rooms.

1911 Year construction began on a new concrete-and-stone structure designed by American Walter S. Painter. That year the hotel hosted twenty-two thousand guests.

2 million Cost in dollars of the hotel's eleven-storey "Painter Tower," which upon its completion in 1914 was the tallest building in Canada.

2 New wings finished in 1928 under the direction of architect J.W. Orrock, just two years after the remainder of the original wooden structure was destroyed by fire.

3 Years beginning in 1942 when the hotel was closed due to the Second World War.

1968 Year the hotel began year-round operations.

848 The hotel's largest total room count, reached in the 1980s before further renovations reduced the number.

OUR HOME AND NATIVE

COURTESY STEAM WHISTLE BREWERY

Tuck-away-handle beer carton

We are a nation of beer lovers, consuming an estimated 80.3 litres per person according to the latest statistics. How appropriate that the tuck-away-handle beer carton was invented by Canadian Steve Pasjack in 1957.

His design resembled a piece of luggage with a built-in retractable handle that was ideal for shipping, but which could be extended for carrying. The Vancouverite's invention allowed a beer purchaser to have one arm free to carry other necessities such as a pizza or a bag of chips.

Pasjack applied for a U.S. patent for his "collapsible carry carton for bottles" in 1958 and a Canadian patent in 1961. It was described as having a "sliding handle … that does not interfere with the collasping of the carton and yet always remains in its proper position when the carton is erected."

Although the tuck-away-handle carton has largely been replaced by cheaper solutions, Ontario's Steam Whistle Brewing currently offers an "improved" version of Pasjack's original twelve-pack carrying case. According to the brewery, such a twelve-pack was once dubbed a "Scarborough suitcase."

The next time you pick up your favourite cold brew, remember that Steve Pasjack and his carton design paved the way for your convenient carry-home purchase.

— **Beverley Tallon**

COURTESY RONALD RUDIN

Only one house remains from the communities displaced to create Kouchibouguac National Park.

A second displacement

Website tells stories of communities moved to create national park

A Concordia University history professor is using digital storytelling to spread the voices of people who in 1969 were displaced from the area that became Kouchibouguac National Park in New Brunswick.

Ronald Rudin created the website Returning the Voices to Kouchibouguac National Park in conjunction with Montreal-based multimedia producer Philip Licht. The site includes twenty-six intimate video testimonies plus maps, texts, and illustrations inspired by the experiences of the more than 1,200 people who were forced to leave their homes and livelihoods nearly half a century ago.

In earlier projects, Rudin has worked with a number of media, including film, multimedia production, and more traditional forms of oral history. A specialist in the social and cultural history of French Canada, Rudin is the author of six books and numerous articles and is the producer of two documentary films. But he believed an interactive website was the best way to present the difficult history of Kouchibouguac.

"We were trying as much as we could to get [the participants] to narrate the story about what their lives were before. We tried to play off landscape that was destroyed against the one that exists," said Rudin. "If you didn't have the visuals, the messages wouldn't come across."

Until the 1970s, Parks Canada sometimes evicted families from their lands in order to create nature sanctuaries. They received compensation, but it was often deemed inadequate.

"There hadn't been many parks created after the 1950s, and they were trying to expand in the East. And because most of the places in the East were populated, they found themselves regularly in this mess," Rudin said. "The environ-

TAKE THE DAY OFF

August 15

To observe the day in 1967 when Newfoundland Premier Joey Smallwood opened the massive Bay d'Espoir hydroelectric project. Make a splash.

August 16

To recall the day in 1637 when the Duchesse d'Aiguillon donated 22,400 livres to found Quebec's Hôtel-Dieu, the first hospital in New France. Break a leg.

mental notion went back to the nineteenth century on this premise that you needed to remove people in order to show nature."

Many of the expropriations were carried out without resistance, but Kouchibouguac has been a particularly contentious stain on the parks agency's history. The majority of the families who were moved were Acadians, a people with a history of forced relocation. Acadians were notoriously expelled from their homes between 1755 and 1763 by the British, and Rudin often heard the phrase "*deuxieme deplacement*" (second displacement) in reference to Kouchibouguac.

Although the story of Kouchibouguac was known to many Canadians from the area, it was most commonly portrayed from the perspective of Jackie Vautour — a leader of the resistance to the displacement.

"The story to the extent that it's been told has been focused on Vautour," Rudin said. "There were 260 families that were removed, but almost everything that's known is about one family. There was this neglect of the mass majority of people because this guy became larger than life."

Rudin believes using the tools of oral history is an opportunity to revive the larger collection of stories. His favourite video is one where Norma Doucet tells her story.

"The thing about Norma is that she's all dressed up, and she's wearing this nicely tailored suit and a necklace," Rudin noted. "This is a very big event to get to tell her parents' story. Seeing people in their previous environment adds another dimension."

To see the Norma Doucet video or to link to the Kouchibouguac website, visit CanadasHistory.ca/Kouchibouguac.

— Hayley Caldwell

A family returns in 1980 to their former house in what is now Kouchibouguac National Park.

L'ÉVANGÉLINE, 17 APRIL 1980 (CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ACADIENNES ANSELME-CHIASSON, UNIVERSITÉ DE MONCTON)

LAUGH LINES

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This cartoon by Duncan Macpherson appeared in the June 5, 1965, edition of the *Toronto Daily Star*.

Canadian gall

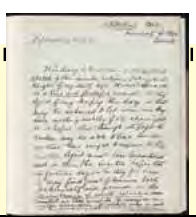
After French President Charles de Gaulle founded the Fifth Republic in 1958, he worked to make France a world power by developing atomic weapons.

The Canadian governments of John Diefenbaker and Lester Pearson refused to sell uranium to France unless Canadian inspectors could ensure that any uranium purchased would be used for peaceful purposes. De Gaulle was furious.

What really made him angry was that Canada readily sold uranium to Great Britain and the United States, both of which were nuclear powers. He refused Canada's terms, which he considered humiliating, and years later got his revenge by publicly supporting Quebec separatism in 1967.

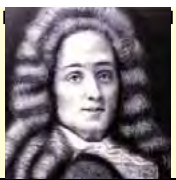
— Charles Hou

Charles Hou is the author of several books about historical Canadian political cartoons.



September 6

To mark eventual prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's first entry in his long-running diary, made on this date in 1893. Turn over a new leaf.



September 8

To celebrate the release of thirteen French prisoners on this date in 1700 after negotiations between New France Governor Louis-Hector de Callière and several First Nations. Show your goodwill.

September 21

To note the 1963 opening of the first of several concert halls at Montreal's Place des Arts complex. Get into tune.

BREAKING HISTORY

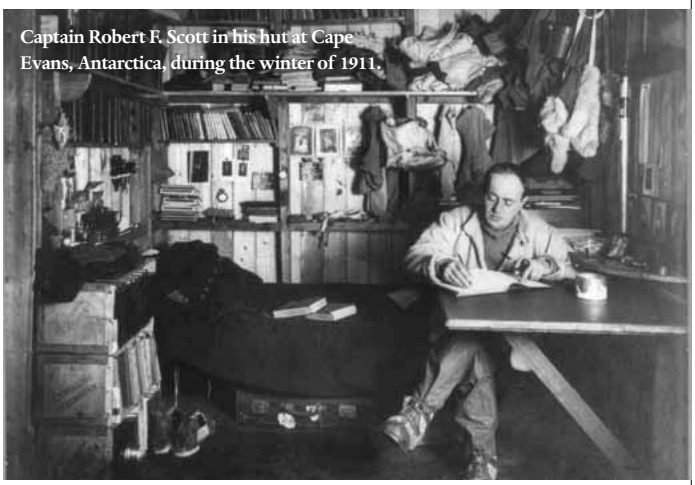
Historical notes in Canadian news reporting

French military officials planned to relocate tens of thousands of residents of New France to Louisiana if Britain won the Seven Years War, according to a recently uncovered document that was auctioned this spring at Sotheby's in New York. As Postmedia News reported, "there are strong indications the proposal may have been written … by Colonel Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, top deputy of the doomed French general in Canada during the fall of Quebec, Louis-Joseph de Montcalm." The hand-written document is dated December 17, 1758, when the French were facing great pressure from advancing British forces under the command of General James Wolfe.

The city of Toronto is working to preserve historic "view corridors" as a high-rise building boom continues in the downtown area and beyond. The *Globe and Mail* reported that the city's council voted this spring to adopt a set of policies "designed to help the city manage [the] balance between promoting density and preserving views." A number of historic buildings were identified for protection, including the provincial parliament buildings at Queen's Park. Several other Canadian cities have lists of protected views, including Halifax, Montreal, Vancouver, and Ottawa.

The *Nanaimo Daily News* has been keeping tabs on efforts to save Nanaimo's historic middle and lower Colliery dams. "A member of the Colliery Dams Preservation Society says the group has retained a lawyer to help navigate the complicated issues surrounding the dams' planned removal and replacement," the newspaper reported after earlier noting that "seventy-two people have signed up to occupy [Colliery Dam Park] to prevent the dams being drained and removed." Some people have doubts that the Vancouver Island city will follow through on its replacement plans.

A plan is being considered to build a number of traditional Aboriginal longhouses in downtown Vancouver. "The Coast Salish village of Xwáyxway, or Place of Masks, is thought to have stood for thousands of years on Burrard Inlet near Lumberman's Arch, before it was knocked down in the 1800s," the *Globe and Mail* reported. Proposed new structures would not only replace those that disappeared as the city was built but would also recognize the importance of First Nations history and serve as a potential attraction for tourists.



Captain Robert F. Scott in his hut at Cape Evans, Antarctica, during the winter of 1911.

© AMNH LIBRARY

Polar challengers

An exhibition this summer at the Royal BC Museum in Victoria tells the remarkable story of two attempts a century ago to be the first to reach the South Pole.

After others claimed to have reached the North Pole in 1909, Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen and British Royal Navy Captain Robert Falcon Scott undertook simultaneous Antarctic expeditions in 1911–12. For both men, it was not their first trip to the continent — but it would be their last.

Amundsen drew from his extensive experience with polar travel, including his time with the Netsilik Inuit of Canada's North, and used dog teams to pull sledges. Meanwhile, Scott relied on manpower — along with ponies that died and motorized sledges that broke down — to haul supplies on the 3,900-kilometre round trip across the ice fields. Scott reached the pole a month later than Amundsen, but he and his party perished on the return trip.

"The explorers went with a sense of bravado and this focus on adventure, exploration, and science," said the Royal BC Museum's Jana Stefan, who spent several months in Antarctica working to preserve the remains of the expeditions. "I think as Canadians we're drawn to that spirit of adventure and blazing your own trail."

The exhibition Race to the End of the Earth includes photographs, paintings, and original artifacts from both expeditions, as well as full-sized recreations of Scott's Antarctic hut and Amundsen's underground workrooms. It continues to October 14.

To hear an interview with Stefan and see more photos, visit CanadasHistory.ca/RacetotheEnd.

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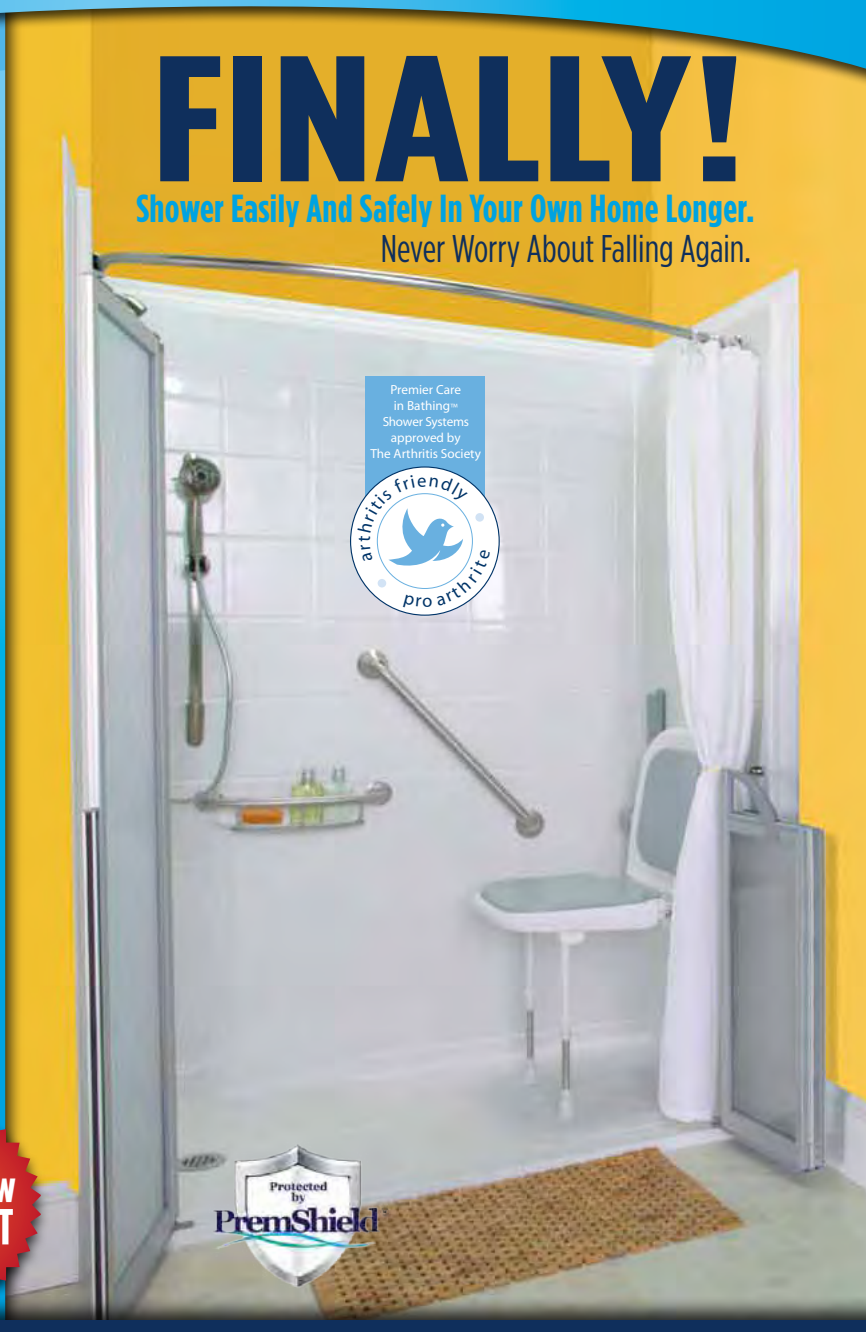
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CHRISTOPHER MOORE

Alberta Premier Charles Stewart, left, Manitoba Premier Tobias Norris, centre, and Saskatchewan Premier William Martin in London attending the Imperial Conference of 1918.

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Why the West wanted in

New book examines the deep roots of western alienation.

What does a journalist do after thirty years of bylines in *Maclean's* and leading Canadian newspapers? For Mary Janigan, the answer was to go back to school and become a historian.

When she decided to turn a grad-school essay into her first published book, it was not some easy pop-history topic that Janigan chose. Her book is called *Let the Eastern Bastards Freeze in the Dark*, and its theme is regional alienation. But Ralph Klein doesn't rate a mention. And Janigan's from Toronto.

The centrepiece of this long, serious, and passionately argued work is a federal-provincial conference held in Ottawa a few days after the end of the First World War. Not even a successful conference, in fact. I asked Janigan recently if she was worried about that journalist's cliché, "Everyone knows Canadian history is boring."

She laughed. "My agent said, 'I never thought I'd say this about a book on a federal-provincial conference, but I want to sell this!'"

Smart agent. *Eastern Bastards* not only found a publisher — Knopf Canada, which published it in 2012 — but has recently taken home the Dafoe Prize and a nomination for the Donner Prize in public policy. In the book, Janigan tells a story of long-ago debates and argues that they say something vital about how Canadians have related to each other for a century and more.

The founding provinces of Canada bargained hard over the terms of their union. So did Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Newfoundland when they came in. But the Prairie provinces were mostly carved out of the old North-West Territories, which Ottawa ran as a colony. Ottawa itself set the terms of their provincehood.

Holding the whip hand, Ottawa was not generous. Unlike the other provinces, the Prairie three started out without the control over land or natural resources that was guaranteed to other provinces.

Louis Riel started the fight against this state of tutelage in 1870, and the struggle continued for another sixty years. At what could have been the vital settlement talks in 1918, the Prairie premiers' "Gang of Three" — Manitoba's Tobias Norris, Saskatchewan's William Martin, and Alberta's Charles Stewart — arrived in Ottawa to find Prime Minister Robert Borden had instead gone to Europe to plan the post-war world.

Finally, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King saw that a deal had to be done. In 1930, not long before oil and potash and all the other prairie resources produced their golden flood of revenue, the Prairie provinces gained rights like the other provinces.

If that was the whole story — a problem that was solved eighty years ago — it might be hard to see what was so vital.

But, Janigan argues, it runs deeper than that. "This is important as a story of how regional identities were formed," she said. At the 1918 conference, the battle was not the West versus Ottawa. Every

> "Confederation seems designed to set every region at the others' throats."

province was there. Each province had its own issues and grievances that it insisted needed attention before the West's. Most maddeningly, the other provinces insisted they had bought the West and paid for its development — why shouldn't they profit from its resources? The Ottawa government hardly needed to say no to the West when the other provinces were so eager to do it themselves.

The battle "brought out the worst in every region," Janigan writes. It is not just about the West, she told me, "it's the way Confederation seems designed to set every region at the others' throats." The federation was dysfunctional, she declares in her opening pages and frequently thereafter.

Well, maybe. But disagreement is not dysfunction. The regions of Canada really are distinct, and surely one of the reasons for a federation is to provide its parts a forum in which to air their differences. Canada should have dealt with its own problems on the founding principles that each province had equal powers and that none was Ottawa's colony. It took a long time to outgrow the post-Confederation weakness for running to Britain for quick constitutional tweaks, like the one that appropriated the West's resources. Still, a better process would not have ended all disagreements.

Janigan does not confine her story to abstract policy. She evokes the life of westerners throughout the period: homesteaders failing for lack of infrastructure, soldiers going dutifully off to the war, Poles and Galicians recruited as cheap labour and then abused as aliens.

What stayed with me most was Janigan's deft threading between the strengths and weaknesses of both journalists and historians. Not many Canadian historians today will take up the fine details of national political history as this book does — maybe history needs someone with a journalist's sense of the big story. At the same time, Janigan never lets the present condescend to the past. She alludes to former Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed and even current Premier Alison Redford. But she clearly is convinced that what Alberta Premier Arthur Sifton said to Prime Minister Borden a hundred years ago remains vitally important. And she makes her readers believe, too.

What's next? "I have just recently done my comprehensive exams and my oral exams for a doctorate," she told me proudly. Having demonstrated that resource control history can be both important and gripping, she thinks the country is ready for another big history: equalization payments.

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History*.

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Image © Bettmann/CORBIS Race to the End of the Earth is organized by the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Royal British Columbia Museum, and Musee des Confluences, Lyon, France.

TALES AND TREASURES

FROM THE RICH LEGACY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

IMAGE © MANITOBA MUSEUM

Keeping time with Franklin

This pocket chronometer provides a direct link to the heroic age of Arctic exploration and its tragic protagonist, Sir John Franklin. Bought by the British Admiralty, it was issued to Franklin for his second Arctic Expedition of 1825 to 1827. Two decades later, following Franklin's disappearance, the Admiralty issued the chronometer to the 1848 search expedition by Sir John Richardson and John Rae. In 1855, it was used by chief factor James Anderson's expedition to the mouth of the Great Fish River to confirm Rae's report of evidence of Franklin's lost expedition. Admiralty records note that the chronometer disappeared on this expedition. However, it later turned up in the possession of A.G. Dallas, who succeeded Sir George Simpson as governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. Dallas reportedly kept the chronometer on his bedside table until his death. It was later donated to the HBC Museum Collection.

— **Kathy Nanowin**

In The Beaver…

90 years ago

A long journey by mail

The August 1923 issue describes the dangerous task of delivering mail between the Hudson's Bay Company's far-flung posts in the North. The seven-hundred-kilometre winter journey by dogsled between Chesterfield Inlet and Fort Churchill was "the most arduous and hazardous voyage of any of the Company's packets." Herbert Hall, manager of the western Arctic district, wrote of a trek during which stormy weather caused delays that led to dogs and men running out of food. However, once at Churchill, he said, "our hardships were forgotten."

60 years ago

Calling the Columbia

A ship that plied British Columbia's rugged coast did triple duty as a hospital, a chapel, and a theatre, according to a September 1953 article by freelance writer Gilean Douglas. The *Columbia* was operated by the Anglican Church Columbia Coast Mission for the benefit of coa stal dwellers living in 225 communities. The ship was the site of weddings, christenings, confirmations, and funeral services, as well as minor surgery and dentistry. First launched in 1905, hospital ships like the *Columbia* were in service in B.C. until the late 1960s.

30 years ago

Grassland splendour

Tim Fitzharris described the western grasslands in a summer 1983 article illustrated with beautiful photographs of prairie wildlife. The article stated that, historically, the grasslands supported an abundance of wildlife in numbe rs impossible to imagine today. Fitzharris warned that agricultural chemicals were poisoning the animals and that if the trend didn't reverse "the land will simply grow more and more quiet." Yet, despite the changes made by man, "the region retains, in places, a special aura of spaciousness, wildness, and freedom."

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/tradingpost**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbc.com/hbc/history**.

KEN MCGOOGAN

Canada's Celtic connection

Ireland welcomes home the ancestors of emigrants who sought new lives in Canada and elsewhere.

Ken McGoogan stands before a replica of an Irish "coffin ship," at New Ross, Ireland.

SHEENA FRASER MCGOOGAN

Some years ago, while driving with friends in Canada, an Irishman heard a Newfoundlander warn a third party against stepping out of a car into traffic: "Don't get out on the Ballyhack side."

The visitor, astounded, asked the Newfoundlander to explain. The man said the expression meant, don't get out on the right. But why it meant that, or where the word Ballyhack came from, he had no idea.

The Irishman, who hailed from New Ross in County Wexford, Ireland, explained that for someone travelling the short distance south from his hometown to the Atlantic, the village of Ballyhack lies to the right. Not only that, but the Irishman could account for how the expression crossed the ocean: Generations of fishermen had sailed from New Ross to fish off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland.

The man who told me this anecdote, Patrick Grennan, shares an ancestor with former American president John F. Kennedy. Grennan has developed the original Kennedy homestead, just outside New Ross, into a tourist attraction. Once the home of Patrick Kennedy — JFK's emigrant ancestor — the homestead was being renovated this spring in anticipation of a celebration marking the fiftieth anniversary of a 1963 visit by JFK.

The New Ross extravaganza was one of the highlights of this year's nationwide homecoming, called the Gathering. Expected to attract more than three hundred thousand visitors to Ireland, the event will likely lure thousands of Canadians. Roughly 4.8 million Canadians claim Irish roots. Many will visit Ireland in search of ancestral connections; indeed, a desultory quest of my own is what brought my wife and I to New Ross.

A lively town of 8,200 people, New Ross is home to the Dunbrody Famine Ship, an authentic reproduction of one of the "coffin ships" that in the late 1840s carried at least one million emigrants — some say 2.5 million — to the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. The voyages lasted last four to six weeks. Eight or nine first-class passengers could range around freely. But a couple of hundred others would be jammed together in steerage and allowed up on deck in small groups for only one hour each day.

Of those coming to Canada, thousands died at sea of typhus or cholera before reaching the quarantine stations at Grosse Isle, Quebec, and Saint John, New Brunswick. If you want a sense of what the emigrants faced, the Dunbrody Famine Ship and Irish Emigrant Experience provides it, complete with actors in period costume.

A week or so after visiting New Ross, we travelled north up the coast in County Mayo to visit Westport House, a spectacular country estate built in the 1700s on the site of an ancient castle.

Have I mentioned the friendliness of the Irish? We got talking with a young staffer who asked if we had any ancestors from Ireland. I said yes: "A man named Byrne, born in New Ross in 1825."

He said, "My name is Byrne."

I said, "My ancestor's first name was Michael."

"That's my name," he said.

"The father of my immigrant ancestor was named Patrick," I said.

"My father is named Patrick."

Our meeting seemed a remarkable coincidence, though Byrne is the seventh most common surname in Ireland. And a cursory glance at any database of emigrants reveals a jungle of Byrnes named Michael and Patrick. Still, this bit of serendipity made us feel quite at home and reminded us of the enduring nature of Canada's connections with Ireland.

The ultimate reminder came a few days later in Northern Ireland. Having checked in to the City Hotel in Londonderry, a.k.a. Derry, we found the place chockablock with Canadians. I got talking with one of them, Brian Vanrooyen of Halifax, and he explained that forty or forty-five Canadians had come to Londonderry to mark the seventieth anniversary of the midpoint of the Battle of the Atlantic.

The longest continuous military campaign of the Second World War, that battle ran from 1939 to 1945 and involved an Allied naval blockade and a German counter-blockade. The Royal Canadian Navy played a pivotal role, protecting

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A statue in Londonderry, Northern Ireland, commemorates the Battle of the Atlantic.

SHEENA FRASER MCGOOGAN

convoys of supply vessels as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean from North America to Great Britain. The Canadians escorted more than twenty-five thousand merchant vessels, most sailing from St. John's, Newfoundland, and Halifax to Londonderry. The six-year struggle involved more than one hundred convoy battles and one thousand single-ship encounters.

The Canadian contingent visiting Londonderry included five veteran sailors who participated in the Battle of the Atlantic. One, eighty-eight-year-old John Hare, grew up in Port Credit, Ontario. "They used to call me Jack Rabbit," he told me.

Hare sailed mostly in frigates, one of which got torpedoed and narrowly made it to shore. But in 1945, when he accompanied the last convoy from Halifax to Londonderry, he did so on a corvette not unlike HMCS *Sackville*, which has become a national Canadian naval memorial.

Pat Jessup, public affairs officer for the Canadian Naval Memorial Trust, told me in the lobby of the City Hotel that she had organized several previous visits to Londonderry. This one was special, she said, not just because it marked the seventieth anniversary of a major battle but also because it featured the ceremonial unveiling of a bronze statue of a sailor. The new statue is similar to an iconic work that has graced Halifax harbour for two decades. "It's a modernized version," she said, "by the same sculptor, Peter Bustin."

Both statues depict a sailor with a kit bag in one hand and a hammock on his shoulder. In Londonderry, the inscription on the base reads: "In memory of those from all Nations who lost their lives in the Battle of the Atlantic. And in lasting tribute to the part played by the citizens of this city in the longest battle of the Second World War 1939–1945."

The new statue is located just a few steps from the Ebrington Square end of Londonderry's spectacular Peace Bridge, which opened two years ago. For at least two visiting Canadians familiar with the Halifax version, the statue provided the most powerful evocation yet of the historical links between Canada and Ireland.

Ken McGoogan writes regularly for *Canada's History*. In October he will publish *50 Canadians Who Changed the World*.

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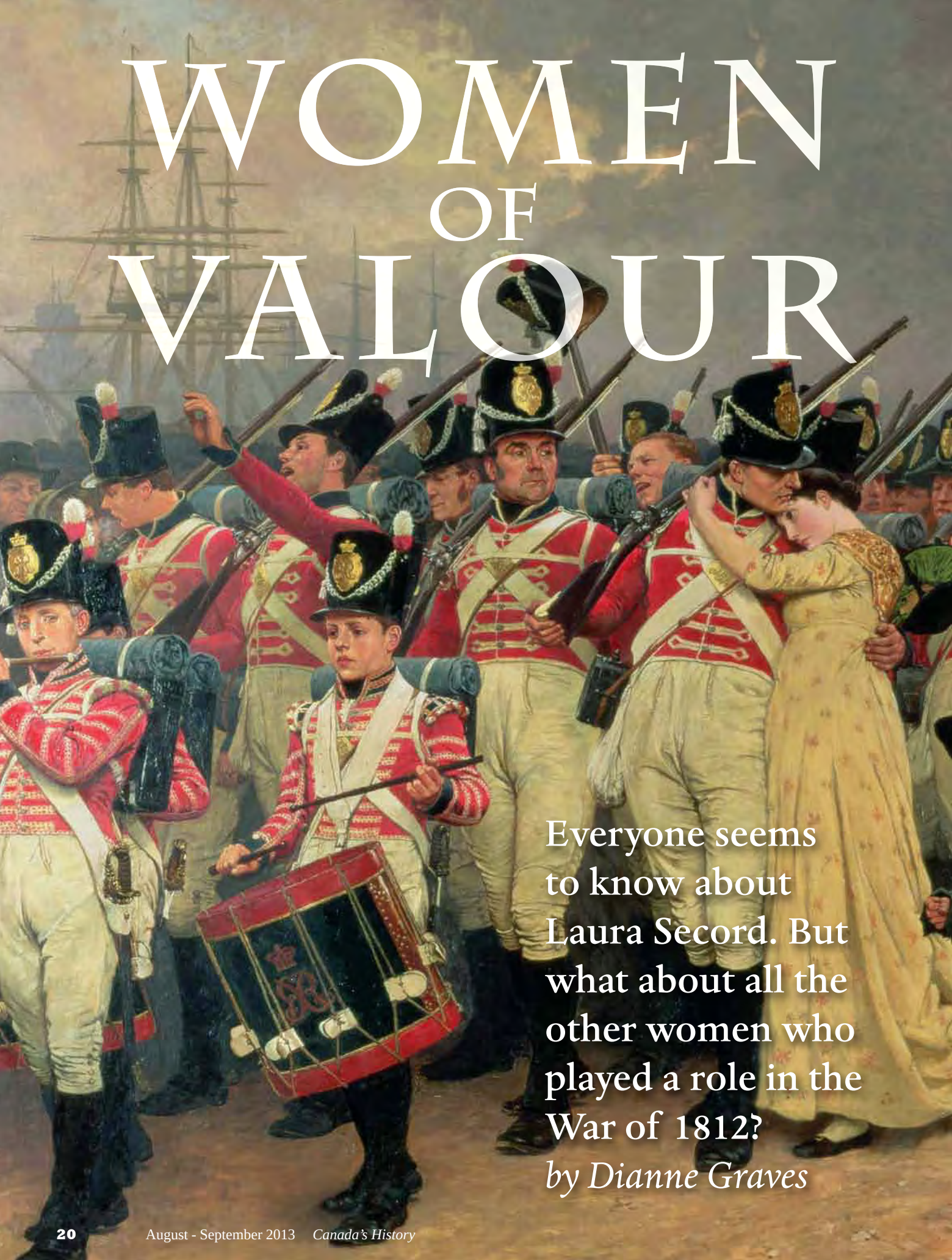

Everyone seems to know about Laura Secord. But what about all the other women who played a role in the War of 1812?

by Dianne Graves

The Girl I Left Behind Me, an 1880 painting by Charles Green depicts families bidding farewell as troops go off to fight during the Peninsular War (1808–1814) in southern Europe. British soldiers were often accompanied by their wives and children when they were stationed abroad, including in Canada during the War of 1812.

LEICESTER ARTS AND MUSEUMS SERVICE

The bicentennial of the War of 1812 commemorates the many military actions fought to preserve British North America from the designs of its ambitious and aggressive neighbour. In the emphasis on battles and soldiers, however, the experiences of the women who lived through the conflict are often overlooked.

Fortunately, some of them left behind diaries, letters, and other correspondence from which it is possible to piece together a picture of what women went through. Here are some of their stories:

According to **Susan Burnham Greeley**, who left a record of her early life, the people of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada (now Ontario and Quebec) were not pleased at the prospect of their lands "being devastated by fire and sword, of which they already had had a foretaste." This was a reference to the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), which saw thousands of Loyalists lose their property as they fled across the border to escape retribution from the American revolutionaries.

Elizabeth Hopkins of Fredericton, New Brunswick, had served in that earlier war. As the wife of a Royal Marine sergeant, Hopkins was wounded while serving the guns of her husband's warship during a naval engagement. On another occasion, having engineered her husband's escape from an American prison camp, she suffered another wound when a force of enemy cavalry tried to apprehend the escapees.

With such trials behind her, Hopkins was likely able to face the

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Above left: A painting of Government House in Halifax by John Woolford, circa 1819.

Above right: Anne Powell, a doyenne of York society.

prospect of war in 1812 better than most. She had six sons and a son-in-law serving in New Brunswick's 104th Regiment of Foot.

Margaret Nelles, who lived near Grimsby Ontario, recalled what "a fearful time it was when my father, who was a Colonel, and my brother an officer in the same regiment, had to go out to defend the frontier." As men departed to join the military, she was among many women who had to assume responsibility for homes, farms, and businesses.

They also provided stability and support for their absent male relations. This is evident from the letters written by Lower Canadian militiamen Paul-Theophile Pinsonnant and Pierre Weilbrunner to their respective wives, **Louise** and **Clothilde**. "Pray for me, my dear, as I don't have the time," wrote Pinsonnant. Weilbrunner relied on his wife to dispatch his "big trunk" containing all his clothes and "company concerns," and to send vegetables, butter, and "two gallons of rum" to be shared with his fellow officers.

Wives of senior officers were not only privy to sensitive information, but also contributed to maintaining an official presence. **Lady Catherine Prevost**, whose husband, Lieutenant General Sir George Prevost, was governor general and commander-in-chief of British North America, presided over many formal occasions and represented her husband socially during his absence from their residence in Quebec City.

At Halifax, an important naval base, **Lady Katherine Sherbrooke**, wife of the provincial lieutenant-governor, entertained visitors on an almost daily basis. It was not uncommon for her to host "a large party of four and twenty at dinner" or to attend a ball where she gave "a cold supper to between two and three hundred people." She rarely dined alone with her husband and her journal reveals that she was required to demonstrate discretion, dignity, and a strong sense of duty.

Women who lived along the international border had a more direct experience of the war. Americans and Canadians who were settled along the Niagara, Detroit, and St. Lawrence rivers had many close ties of friendship, marriage, and trade. But the start of the conflict created tremendous suspicion among them; great alarm arose at the sign of any activity on the opposite bank. When American soldiers crossed the Niagara River and attacked the village of Queenston in October 1812, the local people were introduced to hostilities that, by the war's end, would leave their region in ruins.

In April 1813, the United States staged a major attack on York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. Many townspeople fled, but several women remained to secure their houses from looting and plundering. **Elizabeth Derenzy** stayed to nurse her sick father, Prideaux Selby, Upper Canada's receiver and auditor general, and to help safeguard a large sum of public money hidden in the Selby home.

ANNE S.K. BROWN MILITARY COLLECTION, BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Laura Secord: she wasn't just about the chocolate.

Her name is associated today with a well-known brand of candy, but Laura Secord's life was often far from sweet. Secord is Canada's most recognized War of 1812 heroine. Her first act of courage was during the Battle of Queenston Heights (near present-day Niagara Falls, Ontario) in October 1812, when she rescued her wounded husband from the battlefield. Secord is most remembered for her actions the following summer, when she somehow learned of an American plan to destroy the British stronghold at Beaver Dams (near present day St. Catharines, Ontario). Both she and her husband were circumspect about how she got the information. The account most cited comes from her granddaughter, Laura Secord Clark, who recorded how Secord had overheard the plans as American officers ate and drank at her home.

The next morning, Secord left Queenston on foot to warn Lieutenant James FitzGibbon, the officer in charge at Beaver Dams, taking a circuitous route through fields and woods to avoid American guards.

Two days later, on June 24, 1813, an American force surrendered after being ambushed near Beaver Dams. Secord was not mentioned in official reports of the battle, but Fitzgibbon later corroborated her story when the Secords twice petitioned the government — unsuccessfully — for compensation. Secord died in 1868 at age ninety-three.

***Rosabell*, circa 1808, (artist unknown) depicts women on a quay bidding farewell to British soldiers en route to transport ships.**

Penelope Beikie, wife of the local sheriff, determinedly stood her ground against plunderers. She later commented that her religious faith gave her "more strength and fortitude than all the other females of York put together; for I kept my Castle."

As the wife of Major James Givins, an Indian agent who led a small force of Aboriginals and British regulars, **Angelica Givins** was in a vulnerable situation when the Americans invaded York. Their well-furnished home just outside of the town was a prime target. She stayed but was "driven from her House by a Party of Plunderers who had threatened her Life," according to a statement by Judge William D. Powell attached to a claim for war losses.

Anne Powell, the formidable doyenne of York society, also stayed on after the town's surrender and saw widespread looting take place. Still, she remained resolute: "We have endured privations," she recorded, "We can endure greater."

A month later, the Americans invaded the Niagara Peninsula. The presence of enemy troops, frequent raids, and skirmishes in the occupied area were exacerbated by the depredations of a small band of Canadian renegades led by the traitor Joseph Willcocks. Obeying the orders of the

Elizabeth Mitchell: rallied the Odawa Nation to fight.

Elizabeth Mitchell, a Métis woman, married British army surgeon David Mitchell in 1776. The Mitchells raised twelve children and were living prosperously on American-held Mackinac Island on Lake Huron as war was about to break out.

David Mitchell rejoined the British army as a doctor in 1811. On July 17, 1812, he was among British troops who took Fort Michilimackinac — near the Mitchell home. When American soldiers tried to regain the island in 1814, Elizabeth Mitchell enlisted the help of her Odawa Nation relatives. These allies were key in repelling the American attack. The British awarded her fifty pounds sterling a year for two years for her service.

When the war ended, the island was given back to the Americans under the Treaty of Ghent. Elizabeth Mitchell stayed to manage her family's business interests while her husband, not wishing to live in American territory, moved to nearby Drummond Island.

At one point she was threatened with arrest by the American Indian agent for holding private counsel with her Native family and friends — she was considered a spy. She fled by canoe at night but later returned and continued to run prosperous trading enterprises with help from her sons.

Americans, Willcocks and his men burned the town of Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) to the ground on December 10, 1813. Even the Americans expressed alarm at how the civilian population was treated. Nearly four hundred Canadians, mostly women and children, were "turned out of doors in a cold and stormy night; the cries of infants, the decrepitude of age, the debility of sickness, had no impression on this monster in human shape," wrote Lieutenant Colonel Cyrenius Chapin of the Buffalo militia, who witnessed the event.

In June 1813, during the American occupation, **Jane Kerby** of Queenston, the wife of a Canadian officer, and **Julia Defield**, married to an innkeeper, saved the life of British Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon. There are several versions of events, but, according to Kerby, Fitzgibbon was trying to locate a party of enemy raiders near Niagara Falls when two Americans attacked him outside an inn. As Kerby called for help, Defield emerged from the building and "adroitly disarmed" one of the attackers, enabling Fitzgibbon to take them prisoner.

A portrait of Amelia Ryerse, date unkown. Ryerse kept a journal of the War of 1812 and was a teenager when American soldiers raided her family's farm.

The war demanded much of Aboriginal women. Those who accompanied the warriors who fought with the British and Canadians had to forego their traditional seasonal work and pattern of living and experience the rigours and requirements of troops on the move. John Norton, a Mohawk war chief also known as "the Snipe," was often accompanied by his wife, **Karighwahcagh**, or **Catherine**, whose presence and good looks did not go unnoticed in the circles in which they mixed.

In 1814, further examples of women's endurance and courage under duress emerged during American raids into western Upper Canada. On one occasion a **Mrs. Towsley**, wife of a militia officer living at Oxford, awoke in the night to find a pistol pointed at her sleeping husband's head. She was threatened with the words, "If you scream, I shall blow your husband's brains out."

Amelia Ryerse, a teenage girl during the war, never forgot the day when American raiders surrounded her family's farm and two enemy soldiers "took coals from the hearth, without speaking." As Amelia recalled, "My mother knew instinctively what they were going to do. She went out and asked to see the commanding officer.… She entreated him to spare her property and said that she was a widow with a young family. He answered her civilly [and] respectfully and regretted that his orders were to burn, but that he would spare the house, which he did, and said in justification that the [farm] buildings were used as barracks and the mill furnished flour for British troops." Ryerse continued: "Very soon we saw [a] column of dark smoke arise from every building and what at early morn had been a prosperous homestead, at noon there remained only smouldering ruins."

The summer of 1814 saw heavy fighting in the Niagara Peninsula. Following the American victory at the Battle of Chippawa on July 5, **Hannah Jenoway**, a British officer's wife, "was obliged" to retreat with her children. She described how six warriors "rushed out of the bush and asked me for my money." But she "had courage enough to make them understand I was an officer's lady, when they immediately went away." Later in their journey, her servant accidentally overturned their carriage. She and her children

UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

Maria Muir: A woman of rare courage.

Like many women during the War of 1812, Maria Muir went to extraordinary lengths to extricate herself and her children from a dangerous situation. Muir was the wife of Major Adam Muir of the 41st Regiment of Foot. The Muir family was at Fort Malden in Amherstburg, Upper Canada, when the Americans invaded in the autumn of 1813.

Maria Muir was among the fort's women and children who were sent ahead to Moraviantown (near present-day Thamesville in southwestern Ontario). They were soon joined by British Major-General Henry Procter's soldiers, who were in retreat from Major-General William Henry Harrison's Northwestern Army. The two sides engaged at Moraviantown in what is known as the Battle of the Thames, where the British were soundly defeated.

The women and children with Procter's army were in a desperate situation. Some surrendered to the Americans while others tried to escape. Maria Muir was among the latter. Her husband had been taken prisoner at the battle. Undaunted, Muir gathered up her children, secured a wagon, and set off, unescorted and unprotected. After a long, arduous, and hazardous journey through wild country she reached York (present day Toronto).

It was at York that Thomas Verchères de Boucherville, a young militia officer, encountered her. He was full of admiration, stating later: "I must remark in passing, that women as courageous as she was are extremely rare. She had not hesitated a moment to set out in a wagon with her young children, to go forty or fifty leagues [190 to 240 kilometres] through a country almost devoid of settlers, with steep hills difficult to descend and much more so to climb, and this in a time of war when savages were roaming the woods ready to scalp anyone they met. I cannot praise too highly the spirit of that remarkable woman."

Mrs. Gesse, or Gesseau, reportedly crossed the Niagara River and used fake papers to free her son from American imprisonment while at the same time taking the opportunity to sell a kettle of fresh butter to the American officer in command.

survived "only much bruised." Jenoway's troubles were not yet over, for two of her children subsequently became "alarmingly ill of the ague and lake fever [possibly malaria and typhoid]."

Despite the hardships of campaigning, life had its rewarding moments. A journal written by a young army wife, who did not identify herself, described how she and her officer husband arrived at Kingston and "took possession of our tent by the light of a brilliant moon — can you imagine anything more delightful or novel than being there at the end of a long day's journey in a very crowded wagon." After the "kettle was boiled and our camp table spread," they enjoyed supper together. "Never," she wrote, "did two lighter or happier hearts join in thanksgiving for the blessings of good shelter and rest." Despite her best efforts, this same woman was left behind when her husband's regiment departed for the Niagara. Holding their baby daughter, she watched his ship depart: "I stood still for a moment, trying to collect my thoughts and decide what next was to be done," she wrote.

Some women thrived on the prospect of risk and adventure. **Alicia Cockburn**, a British officer's wife, wrote to her cousin in England that she was considering a "trip into the United States under a flag of truce, which to do the Yankees justice they treat with uncommon civility especially when borne by ladies whom they allow to [travel] much farther, & peep about much more, than we should do in a similar case." Another woman, a **Mrs. Gesse** or **Gesseau**, reportedly crossed the Niagara River and used fake papers to free her son from American imprisonment while at the same time taking the opportunity to sell a kettle of fresh butter to the American officer in command.

Of those women who actually took calculated risks, **Laura Secord**, who made a nighttime journey across rough countryside in June 1813 to warn British troops of a planned American attack, is possibly the most famous. But Upper Canadian **Catherine Pool** had the same selfless spirit. Under the guise of taking provisions to the militia, she gave intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Her compatriot, **Anna Maria Grenville**, also conveyed important information.

Common sense, self-reliance, strength of character, and outright courage enabled many women to steer a course through the difficult years of the War of 1812.

Twelve Mile Creek, crossed by Laura Secord on her walk, in a painting by John Wesley Cotton, 1913.

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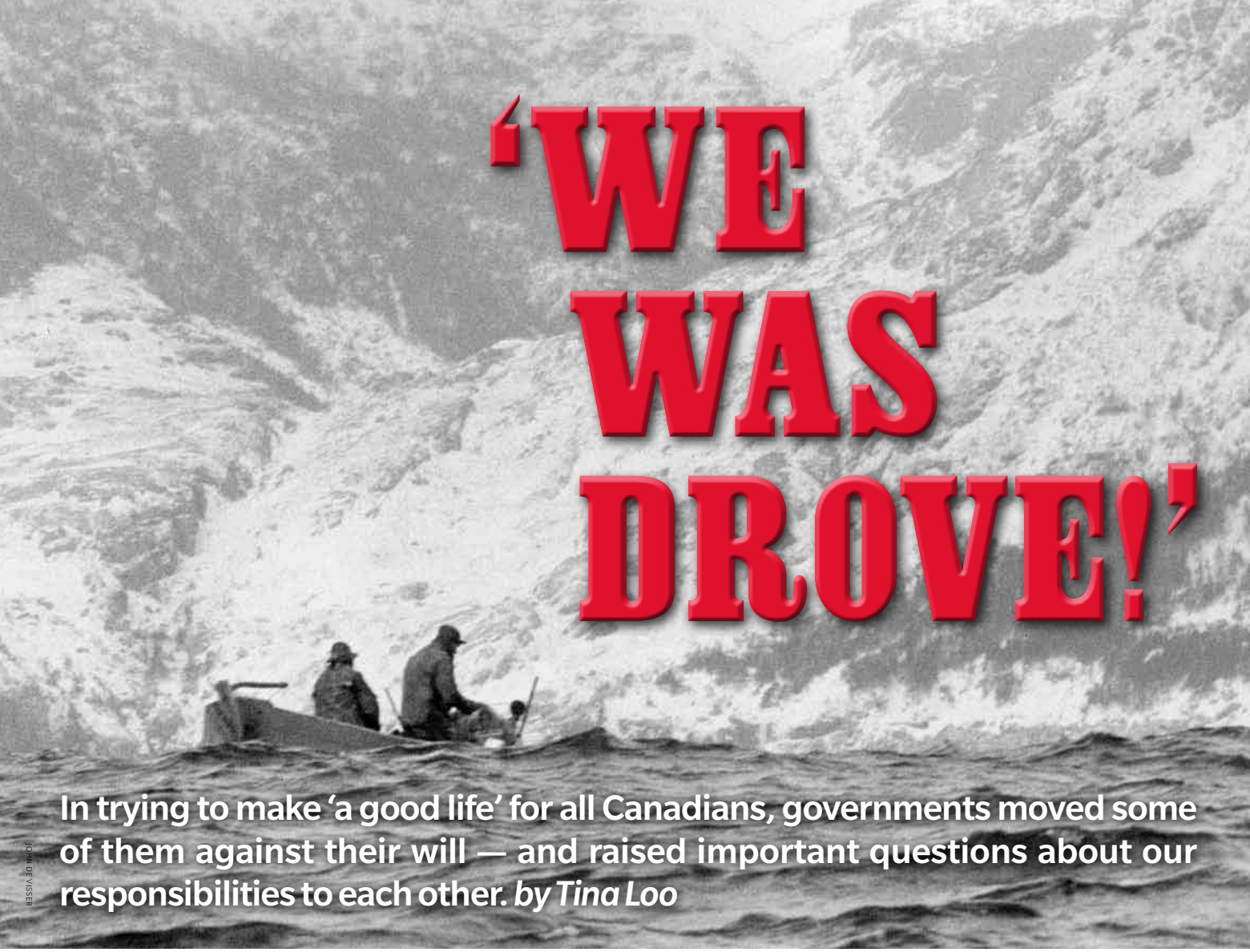
'WE WAS DROVE!'



JOHN DE VISSER

In trying to make 'a good life' for all Canadians, governments moved some of them against their will — and raised important questions about our responsibilities to each other. *by Tina Loo*

Top: Fishermen handlining for cod off François, Newfoundland, circa 1967.

Bottom: Elderly Newfoundlanders with their dog in Burgeo, Newfoundland, circa 1967.

On a stormy February evening in the mid-1960s, writer Farley Mowat found himself sitting in a kitchen in François ("Fran-sway") on Newfoundland's southwest coast. He and noted photographer John de Visser had just spent the day with the community's men handlining for cod, part of the research for *This Rock Within the Sea: A Heritage Lost* (1968). Intended as a celebration of a place and a people they loved, the book's purpose soon changed, largely because of encounters like the one they had with the fishermen of François. "It's been fine you came to visit us," said their host over tea.

"But … I'm wondering could you, maybe, do one thing for we? Could you, do you think, say how it was with us? We wouldn't want it thought, you understand, that we never tried the hardest as was in us to make a go of things. We'd like for everyone to know we never would have left the places we was reared, but … we … was … drove!"

The vehicle driving them out was the Canada-Newfoundland Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, introduced in 1965. Premier Joseph R. Smallwood was at the wheel, intent on centralizing Newfoundland's population as a way to, as Mowat described it,

JOHN DE VISSER

"transform his island kingdom into an industrialized principality." Although it was voluntary, Mowat considered resettlement nothing more than a "coastal clearance scheme" that doomed outport people to become "rootless migrants," pushing them "to the unlovely and unwished-for industrial centres, there to lose themselves in the faceless jungles of mass-man."

Like the children who watched as their house was floated across the bay, Newfoundlanders didn't know what they had until it was gone – and then it was too late.

Children watch from the shore of Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland, as a home is towed to the mainland, circa 1961.

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When Mowat and de Visser began their project, the joint resettlement program was just underway, having superseded a more modest provincial progarm that started in 1954. All along the southwest coast, as well as in other parts of Newfoundland, centuries-old communities like François were being abandoned, their residents moved to designated "growth centres," larger towns and cities around the province where superior economic opportunities and social services awaited — or so they were told. As the meaning of resettlement became clear, the tone of *This Rock Within the Sea* shifted from celebration to defiant lamentation. "We who had come to chronicle human life in its most admirable guise remained to witness and record the passing of a people."

When the relocation program officially ended in 1975, some twenty-eight thousand Newfoundlanders had been resettled in one of the largest state-sponsored movements of people in Canada's history — more people than in the expulsion of the Acadians in the mid-eighteenth century or the internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War. "Progress," rather than global conflict, provided the justification. Once freed from the prison of isolation that was an outport, Newfoundlanders would supposedly be able to enjoy the full benefits of Confederation.

IMAGE COURTESY OF ERNEST WALSH / MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

Centre: A house in Merasheen, Newfoundland, one of the larger communities resettled, circa 1971.

Bottom: Life on Great Colinet Island before resettlement, circa 1945.

MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

Even today, two generations after it was initiated, resettlement evokes strong feelings of anger and nostalgia for a heritage heartlessly sacrificed by the quixotic "King Joey." Smallwood is depicted as a man forever tilting at the windmills of modernity, enthralled by the false promises of a shiny urban industrial future. Like the children who watched as their house was floated across the bay, Newfoundlanders didn't know what they had until it was gone — and then it was too late. Having taken the government's "shifting money," they had to go, with hearts so heavy they broke.

"We read of human rights," wrote community development worker Fred Earle in his diary of a trip to Labrador. "Yet, on November 8, 1969, men and women and children were resettled from Batteau during darkness, wind and snow flurries. The open skiff made three trips from their homes two miles away before all persons and belongings were on the coastal boat. A lady of seventy-two [who was making her first trip on a steamer] was in tears and so was a younger lady who remarked — 'They made us leave our island. When I locked my door it was the hardest thing I did in my life to turn my back on my home.'"

Some never left, preferring to hang on as long as they could. Earle met an eighty-three-year-old accordion player at Exploits, on Burnt Island off the northeast coast. After more than two hundred years of settlement, the partially deaf and blind man was the community's only remaining resident. Everyone else had been relocated.

"I asked him if he ever gets lonely," Earle wrote. "He said a man only gets lonely when he leaves the place he likes. He would be lonely if he went to a city and there was nothing to do but look through a window. He mentioned several old fishermen who left their native homes to live with sons and daughters in places like Toronto; they soon died."

Others hung on in different ways. The streets in the town of Arnold's Cove on Placentia Bay bear the names of the communities whose people resettled there: Woody Island Drive, Port Anne Heights, Spencer's Cove Road, Kingwell Crescent, Merasheen Crescent, and Buffett Road. "But," resident Randy Boucher added in 1970, "we are all Arnold's Cove people now. Although when we moved we naturally stuck with our neighbours, the people we knew, there is no keeping apart, we all mix together."

Resettlement was a defining moment in the province's history, one that fuelled an explosion of literature, art, and music in the 1970s and '80s celebrating pre-Confederation outport life, from journalist Ray Guy's acerbic stories revealing the homespun wit and wisdom of the bayman to Al Pittman's elegiac poetry, printmaker David Blackwood's lonely renderings of resettlement, and Farley Mowat's furiously romantic ones, among others. As much as this renaissance looked back with laughter, tears, and anger, it also created an identity that allowed Newfoundlanders to look forward with neo-nationalist pride to what the island and its people were and could be. The "Newfcult phenomenon," as journalist Sandra Gwyn dubbed it, gave Newfoundlanders roots and wings.

But the story is more complicated than what memory and politics sometimes allow. Resettlement was traumatic for many Newfoundlanders, yet they managed to shape the program to their own ends and, indeed, to reorient its purpose.

As resettlement's defenders liked to remind critics, there was nothing new about what the government was doing: Movement had characterized outport life since there were outports. People supplemented their incomes from the traditional inshore fishery by leaving to go sealing or to take up wage work in construction, forestry, mining, and the pulp and paper industry.

Nor was government involvement in resettlement novel. In an effort to diversify the colony's economy, the Commission of Government that ran Newfoundland from 1934 to 1949 instituted a land settlement scheme that moved people from the outports to model agricultural communities. In 1941, 750 residents of Argentia and Marquise, on Placentia Bay, were relocated to make way for the construction of a massive naval air station and army base, home to over twelve thousand American military personnel.

But arguing that resettlement was just another form of migration overlooks the significant differences in the scale of the federal-provincial program and the degree of government intervention. Smallwood's centralization program (1954–65) was smaller, moving between 7,500 and 8,000 people to places of their own choosing and offering households a nominal amount of funding — $150 per family when it started and $600 when it ended.

MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

Hauling a cod trap at Battle Harbour, Newfoundland, circa 1901. The community was resettled in 1966.

The joint resettlement program provided more financial support: $1,000 per household and an additional $200 per member. In return, however, it imposed more control over people's movements. Resettlers were directed to growth centres where they could serve as a labour pool for the industrial fishery, working in processing plants or on offshore trawlers, lifting themselves out of poverty while at the same time fuelling private fortunes and, it was hoped, provincial growth. In total, more than twenty thousand Newfoundlanders moved under the auspices of the second program.

Perhaps predictably, some were worse off after they moved. There weren't enough jobs to meet the demand, nor affordable houses and building lots to accommodate those who moved. Many resettlers had to leave their houses behind, but even those who managed to take them to a new community often found the cost of buying the land on which to put the building beyond their means. Welfare rolls swelled in the land of milk and honey. People lost the independence that came from possessing a home and being able to live outside the market and cash economy to a certain extent.

One South Islander who was interviewed by sociologists Noel Iverson and D. Ralph Matthews in the late 1960 recalled life in his northeastern Newfoundland community before resettlement: "Every family had a garden and grew all their own vegetables. Most of them had a chicken or two and a few sheep — that took care of the socks and mitts. It didn't cost much to live then. But, it seems that when a man loses his independence he isn't the same. Some of 'em who moved just don't care anymore, they just give up and take the relief."

Others didn't so much give up as lash out at what they saw as the injustice of resettlement. "The government's not worrying about us," one man from Ireland's Eye in Trinity Bay told Iverson and Matthews. "They're worrying about the young people coming out of schools. But what about us?"

The aims and impacts of resettlement diverged in surprising ways. Despite the best efforts of administrators, only a third of those who were resettled under the first federal-provincial agreement (1965–70) went to growth centres. Instead, the majority found their way to approved reception centres or non-designated relocation communities. The program was more successful in directing people in its second iteration (1970–75), moving forty-seven per cent of them to special areas, so called because of their potential for growth in a number of economic sectors, including the fishery.

The fact is the majority of Newfoundlanders who participated in the resettlement program went to places other than where the planners wished for them to go. Despite the federal government's desire to restrict the number of communities where it would fund people to move, the resettlement program helped Newfoundlanders relocate to 331 different places across the province, many of them just "a few miles down the road" from where they'd lived.

If the federal and provincial governments had a limited amount of success moving people to particular places, they also found it hard to get them completely out of others. Thanks to Newfoundland's artists and writers, the abandoned outport has come to symbolize resettlement. But again the statistics suggest a more complicated picture: A significant portion of the moves funded by the program didn't result in the total evacuation of communities. It's well known that householders could qualify for assistance if ninety per cent of the community indicated its willingness to leave (lowered to eighty per cent in 1967); in other words, if they agreed to abandon their settlement.

What's less well known is that people from designated outports weren't the only ones funded by the resettlement program. It also helped widows, the handicapped, and the incapacitated from anywhere in the province to go to places that had better social services. As well, recognizing that jobs in some fish processing plants and on offshore trawlers were going unfilled, federal and provincial officials agreed that individual households could qualify for "the shifting money" even if the community they were part of did not — but only if the principal breadwinner was moving to a job in a fisheries growth centre.

Over time, these qualifications were modified further — "watered down," according to one frustrated federal bureaucrat — first to facilitate movement to a job in any growth centre; then from a recognized "sending community" (a place where "a substantial proportion of the inhabitants" had indicated their wish to move) to a recognized "receiving community"; and finally from any place that was not a receiving community. The result of all these changes was to reorient the resettlement program: Rather than closing communities, it would facilitate individuals moving to places where opportunities were thought to be better.

In all, between 1965 and 1975, the Household Resettlement Committee received applications from householders in 635 different places. Of these communities, 135 (or 149 by another count) were totally evacuated. The rest — a majority — weren't. And while the majority of resettlers came from designated outports (some fifty-seven per cent), the remainder was surprisingly large and represented people who moved individually, rather than collectively.

Without diminishing the pain of relocation and the difficulties some encountered in their new homes, what these numbers suggest is that Newfoundlanders managed to shape the resettlement program to their own purposes. Refusing to go where they were supposed to go, they moved in significant numbers to nearby places, often as individuals rather than communities.

There was no systematic assessment of the program after its conclusion, so it's difficult to measure its outcome. Nevertheless, the fragmentary picture we have suggests the results were more positive than is conventionally believed. Economists canvassed forty per cent of the households resettled in the first two years of the program and reported that nearly two thirds of them were "generally satisfied" with their move. Of those, a majority thought they were better off. The twenty-three per cent who were "dissatisfied" with moving felt that way because they had been unable to find work —

A man walks with his daughters in Exploits, Newfoundland, circa 1965.

IMAGE COURTESY OF GERALD SQUIRES / MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT, SAME GAME

If this sort of thing were being proposed to any other group of people in any other part of the world, there would be a human rights outcry! … Exactly how many people do we need in one place to guarantee their right to public services?

If you thought the sentiment above was expressed in the 1960s when resettlement was at its height, you would be wrong: It was made in 2013 by "Amanda Marie" in an online news comment, and it refers to a contemporary debate about the potential resettlement of Little Bay Islands in Notre Dame Bay in northeastern Newfoundland.

The eighty-seven voters in this two-hundred-year-old community have found themselves confronted with the same choices some Newfoundlanders had to face nearly fifty years ago: to stay or to go. Since the crab plant shut down in 2009, there has been no work on the island. Most families with children have left, leaving a population largely made up of senior citizens who have to travel by government ferry — a three-to-four-hour return trip — for groceries or to visit the doctor.

For the past decade, a provincial resettlement program has been quietly operating, providing funds to communities where ninety per cent of households have voted in favour of moving.

Little Bay Islanders voted in 2011, but the petition to resettle narrowly failed. In March 2013, the Department of Municipal Affairs increased the "shifting money" to $270,000 per household from $100,000, which prompted another vote in early May. As town councillor Dennis Budgell explained: "When the government come up with this new amount of money, they said, 'At least now we goes, we got money to go and buy a new home somewhere else.' "

At the time of writing, the province hadn't announced the results of the latest vote.

not because they had left their homes.

Newfoundlanders were able to shape resettlement because of the particular context in which the program unfolded. On paper, the policy and the ideas that informed the program looked clear enough, but implementing them proved surprisingly difficult. What was a "growth centre," anyway? How many of them should there be, and where should they be? These were crucial questions, but the resettlement committee — composed of equal numbers of federal and provincial officials — had little time to ponder them, confronted as it was by a tsunami of paper.

Regardless of whether they liked the idea of resettlement, Newfoundlanders by the thousands made inquiries and filled out applications, knowing, as one sociologist put it, that if people were going to be moved there was some advantage to being first. Eighty-five per cent of those resettled under the joint program — more than seventeen thousand people — moved in a five-year period from 1966 to 1971.

This press of paper pushed bureaucrats to process applications quickly and move people, even if sometimes the places to which they proposed going weren't ideal from the government's perspective. For instance, despite the fact that it had no water or sewer system, the resettlement committee designated Lumsden on the northeast coast as a receiving community in 1970 because it was the only place people from nearby Cape Freels North and Deadman's Bay would resettle. Similarly, it designated the south coast village of Hermitage because it was the only place that appealed to elderly people and fishermen as a destination.

Decisions like these were rooted in the sometimes conflicting aims of resettlement as well as the immediate pressures of administration. The program was supposed to improve the social security of Newfoundlanders and modernize the province's economy. But which should take precedence, needs or opportunities? As a welfare measure, the aims of resettlement were met if people were moved to places with better social services. But those communities weren't necessarily the ones with the best prospects for industrialization. If economic development was the goal, people had to be sent to a handful of larger centres.

Even without the pressures of administering a program with incompatible aims, the larger context in which the resettlement committee worked would have made it hard to intervene more directly. For all the complaints about Smallwood and his high-handed ways, Newfoundland was still a liberal democracy, something that made it difficult, if not entirely illegitimate, for the state to force individuals to move. Over and over again, politicians and bureaucrats insisted that the decision to relocate was in the hands of Newfoundlanders.

Recognizing the ability of ordinary Newfoundlanders to bend the program to their purposes doesn't mean they didn't feel bullied — "drove" from their homes. But it might cause us to revise the black-and-white view of resettlement. It wasn't exactly a coastal clearance scheme, a juggernaut that completely wiped out rural Newfoundland. Moreover, the harm inflicted by the state didn't come just from what it tried to do to Newfoundlanders; the harm was also the result of what it failed to accomplish because of its weakness, its inability to overcome the context in which it worked. In many cases, the resettlement program uprooted households for nothing: It didn't deliver the promised jobs to people and, in fact, it didn't even deliver people to where they were supposed to go.

The spaces between the state's intentions and its ability to realize them were spaces of possibility where Newfoundlanders played the hand they were dealt. The statistics on resettlement give us some sense of what happened there, revealing how ordinary people made their lives — and made history — in conditions not of their own making.

IMAGE COURTESY OF GERALD SQUIRES / MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

Gerald Squires saws firewood at Exploits, Newfoundland, circa 1965.

The Newfoundland resettlement program was just one postwar attempt to improve the lives of Canadians by moving them. From the 1950s to the 1970s, governments also moved the Inuit of the central Arctic, the African-Canadian residents of Africville, a Halifax neighbourhood, and Chinese Canadians from Vancouver's Strathcona district, among others.

Forced relocation was justified at the time by the liberal welfare state's promise of universality and the belief, articulated most clearly by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, that "every Canadian has the right to a good life whatever the province or community he lives in." But if social services and social security couldn't be delivered to people, then people would be delivered to them. Insofar as resettlement has larger lessons, they lie in appreciating this context. Understanding the role of the state historically, through resettlement, helps us to evaluate the present and move into the future.

For William N. Rowe, Newfoundland's minister of community and social development in the late 1960s, poverty wasn't just a lack of income, it was also immobility — the inability to pursue better opportunities, whether they were

economic, cultural, or educational. Most of the Newfoundlanders living in the thousands of outports along its ten-thousand-kilometre-long coast were isolated and poor. "Choice simply does not exist for one who is chained to the rocks by lack of funds or narrowness of vision caused by isolation or lack of education and job training," Rowe wrote in 1969. Confederation and resettlement were meant to change that.

What's remarkable about resettlement was that, controversial though it was, few argued that it wasn't the state's role to make "a good life" for its citizens. They might have asked whether government policies were effective, or taken issue with the definition of what a good life meant, but few questioned the legitimacy of the state intervening.

One of the principal ways the Canadian state has tried to ensure the right to "a good life" is by addressing the inequities between different parts of the country. Historically, Canada has probably put a higher priority on reducing inequities among regions than any other country in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Coming out of the upheavals of the Great Depression and the recommendations of the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (1940), the federal government formally instituted equalization payments in 1957 as a way of redistributing the country's wealth among "have" and "have-not" provinces.

Just over a decade later, it established the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) to take a more integrated approach to reducing disparities. Among other things, DREE carried out the federal government's responsibilities for administering resettlement.

In fulfilling its mandate through programs like resettlement, DREE grappled with fundamental questions that still occupy Canadians: If the state had a responsibility to ensure a good life, then what were its limits? As DREE's first minister, Jean Marchand, observed, people wanted the federal government to help them realize a good life at home. But it couldn't build a "new plant at every crossroads, a new wharf at every harbour."

Marchand argued that the state's job was to promote prosperity within regions so that "the people who aren't doing well have somewhere to go to do better. That's what economic development is about.

Regional economic expansion, as I like to call it, means that the points at which development takes place are widely spread across all regions of Canada. Everybody doesn't move to Toronto. But we must be clear that, in the modern, dynamic economy — and the point is that the Atlantic economy must become dynamic, or decline — there has to be movement and change."

Even in the heady days of the welfare state's expansion, Canadians were still expected to move to pursue a good life. The state's job was to limit how far they'd have to travel. The federal government distinguished between social services, which it considered "more universal," and which hence had to be more widely available, and jobs, which were less so. There might not be a new plant at every crossroads in Atlantic Canada, but the government was committed to making sure there were at least some plants in the region.

The distinction Ottawa drew didn't just denote the limits of the state's responsibility to its citizens; it also marked the boundaries of Canadians' responsibility to each other: We devolve some of those responsibilities to the state, which meets them through taxes and other transfers.

A whole range of financial arrangements and bureaucratic mechanisms depersonalize our connections with each other even as they redistribute our wealth. In that sense, the state is how each of us fulfills our collective responsibility to meet the needs of strangers; it's the circulation system on which a national community depends, the only one that can go any distance towards countering the vagaries of the market and the global forces that shape it and us.

The boundaries of our responsibility to each other weren't — and aren't — set in stone. They expand and contract according to the prevailing sentiments of the day. For all we might take issue with resettlement, it was a program premised on Canadians' belief in universality and a willingness to sustain poorer regions through a state whose purpose was to reallocate wealth. It's a belief that's become central to national identity: The welfare state is one of the things to which Canadians like to point in distinguishing themselves from their southern neighbours in the United States.

But in Canada, as elsewhere, it's being eroded. If the redistributive welfare state and rural Canada are to be more than objects of nostalgia, there will have to be a renewed commitment to the principle that all Canadians have a right to a good life, no matter where they live.

MARITIME HISTORY ARCHIVE

Two men caulk a boat at Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, circa 1950.

A HARD LIFE ON THE ROCK

Newfoundlanders didn't enjoy the postwar prosperity many other Canadians did. Their unemployment rate was five times that of the rest of Canada in the decade after Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949. From 1945 to 1970, their personal incomes were just fifty-five per cent of the Canadian average. Among inshore fishermen, the situation was even more dismal: Their incomes were estimated to be one sixth the national poverty level.

The province's population peaked in 1992 at 580,000. However, with collapse of the cod fishery that year, unemployment soared and tens of thousands of people left the province.

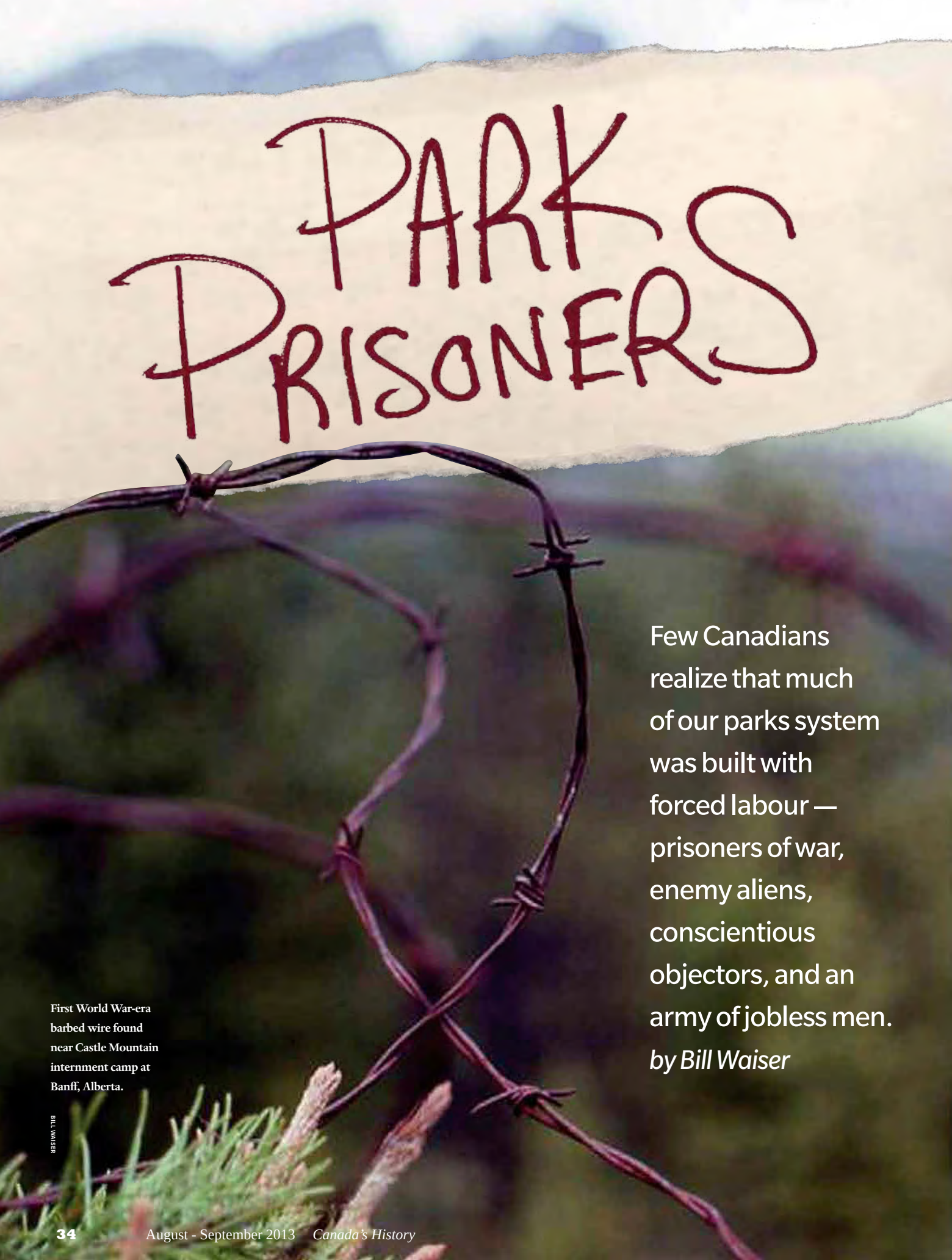
Today, offshore oil and mining have led to a resurgence of the economy, leading some Newfoundlanders to return home. However, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador still has an unemployment rate of fourteen per cent.

The population today is 513,000 — about the same number as in 1969.

PARK PRISONERS

Few Canadians realize that much of our parks system was built with forced labour — prisoners of war, enemy aliens, conscientious objectors, and an army of jobless men.

by Bill Waiser



First World War-era barbed wire found near Castle Mountain internment camp at Banff, Alberta.

BILL WAISER

Clutching a handful of old yellowing photographs, Joe Gabski of Chico, California, arrived at Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba on the morning of September 11, 1991. Introduced to the park interpreter, he spent the morning telling his story to his incredulous host and then cycled several kilometres along an old road to the site of a former German prisoner of war camp on Whitewater Lake. He had finally returned — keeping the pledge that he had made to himself almost fifty years earlier.

There are other men with similar pasts. Frank Goble of Cardston, Alberta, who served as a cook in the Waterton Lakes, Alberta, relief camps, gladly shows interested park visitors where every one of the camps was located along Chief Mountain Highway while he regales them with stories of the men, the work, and the times. Abe Dick of Winnipeg performed alternative service work in both Banff and Jasper national parks during the Second World War. He remembers being shuttled between parks along the Banff-Jasper highway in the back of an open truck in the dead of winter and trying to thaw out during a break at the Columbia Icefield. When he visited the site of one of his former camps near the Maligne Canyon Bridge, he broke down and wept.

A former Japanese resident of British Columbia's Fraser Valley, however, will never go back to the site of his internment. Ordered from the province in February 1942, he and his father were separated from their family and sent to work on the Jasper section of the Yellowhead Highway. "It has been a very hard experience at that time of my youth," he wrote from Toronto, "and a bitter pill to swallow."

These men, and several thousand others, were sent to Canada's mountain and prairie national parks between 1915 and 1946 as a part of a general government effort to remove them from Canadian society. They were Canada's unwanted — enemy aliens, the jobless and the homeless, conscientious objectors, possible subversives, and prisoners of war. They were men who, because of war or economic depression, found themselves viewed with mistrust. The Canadian government wanted to find a place to put them, as well as to keep them busy.

Western Canada's national parks officials, in turn, welcomed this labour. The parks system was not only undergoing a period of expansion but wanted to take advantage of the coming of the automobile to attract more tourists. To fulfill this role as national playgrounds, parks had to be developed and made more accessible. They needed visitor facilities and improved roads. Joe Gabski and hundreds of others supplied this labour.

When Canada went to war against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire in August 1914, unwelcome foreigners were turned overnight into enemy aliens. Ottawa initially called for public restraint in dealing with these people, but in the end over eight thousand individuals — including women and children — would be held in some dozen stations and camps across the country, including four national parks.

The people made available to the national parks service during the First World War were technically prisoners of war. In reality, the majority of the internees were unemployed or destitute Ukrainians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire who had been brought to Canada in increasingly larger numbers before the war to work on the railways and other construction projects. This labour force initially generated little public interest or concern, especially since the men lived on the margins of Canadian society. But with the outbreak of war, the public became alarmed. The govern-

Below: Interned "enemy aliens" at Yoho National Park in British Columbia clear the way for a new road along the Kicking Horse Canyon during the First World War.

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Above: At Prince Albert National Park, Saskatchewan, conscientious objectors clear fire trails during the 1940s.

Below: German prisoners of war at Whitewater Camp in Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba, where they were held from 1943 to 1945. When not cutting wood, the prisoners had time to pursue hobbies.

ment eventually bowed to public pressure and established a national network of internment camps.

The majority of the park internees were stationed at Banff National Park, Alberta, alternating between a summer site near Castle Mountain and winter facilities at the Cave and Basin pool in the townsite, while constructing a new road to Lake Louise. The Jasper internees devoted most of their energies to building a road to Maligne Lake. Similar work was performed at Mount Revelstoke National Park, British Columbia. With the approach of winter, the men were transferred to Yoho National Park, also in B.C., where they worked on a new highway and a bridge to the Kicking Horse River.

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By the end of the first season, parks officials found the work to be satisfactory but complained about the slow pace and the almost constant supervision the men required. One wonders, though, what more could have been accomplished since the internees were using only hand tools. They were also desperately unhappy. One Banff internee confided to his wife in a letter that they were "hungry as dogs." Some quietly waited for the right moment and tried to escape, even though guards were under orders to shoot. At Yoho, prisoners used a shovel and cutlery from the mess hall to dig their way to freedom. By the time their burrowing activity was discovered, the tunnel reached beyond the stockade wall and was only a few metres from the bush.

Meanwhile, as the war continued, casualties overseas mounted and Canada's military commitments translated into a serious manpower shortage at home. The government reasoned that the interned aliens might as well be released to fill vacancies in factories and other workplaces. Beginning in April 1916, prisoners gradually began to be discharged.

The Jasper and Yoho camps were closed in the fall of 1916. The Banff operations came to an end the following summer. The Dominion Parks Service regarded the internment camp experience as something of a mixed blessing. Parks officials had expected great things from the internees and were disappointed by what had been achieved. At the same time, Parks Commissioner J.B. Harkin had to admit that the men had tackled jobs that otherwise have been impossible during the war.

There was also a sadly ironic aspect to the park internment operations. Throughout the war, Harkin was forever extolling the virtues of the national parks system and how these special places would provide much-needed sanctuary when the guns finally fell silent. But in making the wonders of Banff, Jasper, Yoho, and Mount Revelstoke more accessible, the internees had known only exhaustion, suffering, fear, and desolation.

The coming of the Great Depression in the 1930s offered parks officials the chance to operate a new generation of work camps. The swelling ranks of the unemployed reminded parks officials of what the enemy alien camps had

JOSEF GABSKI

accomplished in the mountain parks during the war years. Why not do the same thing with Canada's growing army of unemployed?

Most of the early relief activities consisted of labour-intensive general maintenance work in and around park townsites. The Edmonton unemployed, for example, cleared brush to improve grazing conditions at Elk Island National Park, Alberta. Once the availability of a large pool of workers had been assured, however, a number of major road-building projects were launched. Several hundred men worked on a highway link between Banff and Jasper, while in British Columbia, others toiled on a road between Golden and Revelstoke, the Big Bend Highway. In the meantime, at Waterton Lakes in southwestern Alberta, major roads were built to Cameron Lake and the international boundary.

At the outset, camp conditions were not ideal. Many men were not properly outfitted for working outdoors in the winter. During a bout of unusually frigid weather at the Jasper end of the Banff-Jasper highway in November 1932, two highway workers cut a deck of cards to see who would wear a set of underwear and a pair of socks. These shortcomings aside, the parks department was soon operating an efficient, carefully coordinated relief program. Over the winter of 1931–32 alone, relief workers provided more than a quarter million days of work.

As for food, men in the camps declared the meals to be wholesome and plentiful. They had to be. The relief workers were expected to do as much as they could by hand; heavy machinery was used only rarely. The bunkhouses in most instances were little more than tarpaper shacks — without insulation! The bunks were not much better. One worker, who spent four consecutive winters in the park camps from the age of fifteen, suggested that only a horse could enjoy the bedding — the men stuffed their beds with straw delivered by local farmers.

The most noteworthy feature of the Riding Mountain relief camps in Manitoba was the ambitious recreation program. Because more than one thousand men were housed in a five-kilometre radius around Clear Lake, park authorities formed inter-camp soccer and hockey leagues. The park also equipped an all-star hockey team and hosted an exhibition match against one of the neighbouring communities every Sunday afternoon before a crowd of a thousand spectators. Future Toronto Maple Leafs goalie Turk Broda got his start guarding the net for the all-star team.

Beginning in 1934, many parks relief workers finally got the chance to use their trades under the Public Works Construction Act. The result was a number of beautiful peeled-log and stone structures, many of which have been recognized today as heritage structures. Indeed, the cumulative result of relief labour was a level of parks development has has been rarely matched in national parks history. It is a legacy that stands in sharp contrast to the experience in the troubled Department of National Defence camps during those same years.

When Canada entered the Second World War in 1939, parks officials lost little time in reaching an agreement with the Department of National War Services to establish alter-

H. SAWATZKY

Conscientious objectors — or "conchies" as they were dubbed — would be required to work the equivalent of basic military training in the relative isolation of the mountains and boreal forest.

Alternative service workers pose under the entrance to Riding Mountain National Park in Manitoba. These conscientious objectors — often Mennonites or Jehovah's Witnesses — served as parks handymen during the Second World War.

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CANADIAN PARKS SERVICE, WESTERN REGIONAL OFFICE, WEBSTER COLLECTION

Above left: Alternate service workers place rocks inside the cribbing of a new breakwater on Waskesiu Lake in Prince Albert National Park, Saskatchewan, during the Second World War.

Centre: Internees outside their sleeping tents at Elk Island National Park, Alberta, in the early 1930s. The destitute men banked hay bales around their tents to keep warm.

native service camps in national parks. Conscientious objectors, or "conchies," as they were dubbed, would be required to work the equivalent of basic military training in the relative isolation of the mountains and boreal forest, handling projects left over from the closure of the relief camps.

The first alternative service workers reported in June 1941. By summer's end, camps had been opened at Riding Mountain, Banff, Jasper, Prince Albert, and Kootenay. Temporary camps were also established the following year at Yoho and Glacier in the Rogers Pass area of B.C.

Most of the alternate service workers were young Mennonite men, quietly committed to completing their term of service. Once settled into camp, the men faithfully observed the rules and gave no cause for complaint, let alone a reprimand. Far from being complacent, the truth of the matter was that the men were simply too homesick to cause any trouble.

The men also proved to be hardened labourers. As the war progressed, the men cut brush along highways, sawed firewood, erected new patrol cabins, and rebuilt or relocated several kilometres of telephone line. In the park townsites, they served as local caretakers, servicing the campgrounds, building new kitchen shelters, hauling ice, or grooming golf courses. They also built a new breakwater at Waskesiu in Prince Albert National Park in northern Saskatchewan. They also assisted with wildlife management and forest conservation. Teams of men removed some eighteen thousand beetle-infested trees at Banff, while similar work at Kootenay netted almost one million board feet of lumber.

At Jasper, internees were involved in one of the most bizarre episodes of the war. In the fall of 1942, British inventor Geoffrey Pyke concocted a scheme to fashion a fleet of indestructible warships from "pykrete," a mixture of ice and wood chips.

The idea would likely have been laughed at, but for the fact that Nazi U-boats were wreaking havoc on Allied shipping. Before construction of the bergships got underway, it was decided to build a small ice prototype in Canada. This work was secretly carried out in early 1943 on secluded Patricia Lake in Jasper by an unsuspecting group of conscientious objectors.

Thanks to the alternative service program, the National Parks Bureau had its own personal army during World War Two. And when Canadians started to visit national parks in unprecedented numbers in the late 1940s, trying to put behind them the dark days of the war, they enjoyed facilities that had been developed, improved, or maintained by men who had chosen peaceful activities over military service.

In the wake of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the Canadian government took increasingly severe steps against the Japanese community of British Columbia. The most draconian of these measures was the decision to remove all Japanese residents, including Canadian citizens, living within 160 kilometres of the Pacific coast effective February 24, 1942. Over thirteen hundred of the evacuated males were immediately sent to work on the Yellowhead Highway between Jasper, Alberta, and Kamloops, British Columbia.

The most easterly section of the new highway was located in Jasper National Park between the townsite and the Alberta-British Columbia border. There, three temporary work camps — one at Geikie, two at Decoigne — were established in boxcars along the railway siding until the men could build their own camps. Unlike their attitude to other groups that had worked in the national parks during the previous three decades, Jasper National Park officials wanted nothing to do with the Japanese and tried to limit as much as possible the Japanese presence in the park. They were afraid that they would damage tourism.

The Japanese, for their part, initially co-operated. But when it became apparent that they might be separated from their families for several months, if not years, they decided to

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disrupt work — mostly by striking — in an atttempt to force Ottawa to do something about their situation.

Project officials, thoroughly frustrated by the behaviour of the Japanese, believed that the easiest solution was to force the Japanese to work on the road and essentially turn the work camps into concentration facilities. Ottawa, however, decided to reunite the married men with their families in new housing communities in the British Columbia interior and ordered the immediate closure of the park camps. In the end, the Japanese had forced the Canadian government to recognize a fundamental fact about human behaviour that transcends all races and circumstances — that men should not be forcibly separated from their families.

The last group of workers in a national park setting were German prisoners of war captured in North Africa. In 1943, 440 German prisoners being held at Medicine Hat, Alberta, were sent to a woodcutting camp on Whitewater Lake in the heart of Riding Mountain National Park.

The new Whitewater camp was an impressive facility. Constructed at an estimated cost of $330,000, it featured six large bunkhouses and a number of other structures. What probably surprised the prisoners most was that there was no enclosed compound or guard towers. Instead, the boundaries of the camp were designated by red blazes on a ring of outlying trees. To help the guards keep track of the Germans, the prisoners wore blue denim work clothes with a red stripe down the outer leg of the trousers and a large red circle — like a target — on the back of the shirt and jacket. This outfit was resented by the prisoners.

The Germans enjoyed a wide range of recreational pursuits. Some of the men had theatrical or musical talents and staged regular performances. Others were fascinated with the forest setting and kidnapped a bear cub for a camp mascot. A good many also turned their hand to crafts and used the readily available forest to create a number of elaborate models, including ships and bottles. Several of the prisoners also applied their skills to boat-making and hacked out dugout canoes from spruce logs.

Then there were those who liked to wander at night. Using crude compasses made from watches they had ordered from the Eaton's catalogue, the men would slip away Saturday night after roll call and be back the next morning in time for the first count of the day. During their clandestine travels, they chanced upon small immigrant communities along the southern and northern boundaries of the park. They became favoured guests at local dances and parties, largely because they carried with them rationed goods.

By the spring of 1945, the Germans had become bored with their woodcutting chores and instituted a series of work stoppages. Ottawa closed the camp and transferred the prisoners to other work projects. The camp structures were torn down, and the site was cleaned up that fall. But even though the Parks Bureau was determined to eradicate all signs of the camp, it could not erase the fact that for a few brief months during Second World War animosities were set aside and Riding Mountain's Nazis found a home away from home in the farm communities beyond the park's boundaries. The dances in those little towns were never quite the same again.

In looking back over the history of Western Canada's national parks during the two world wars and the Great Depression, it is readily apparent that the story is about more than preservation and recreation. Places like Yoho, Jasper, and Prince Albert owe much to the hundreds of "park prisoners" who gave meaning to the term "national playgrounds." They and their work, often performed under duress, need to be more widely recognized and commemorated. In the words of a former park relief worker, the failure to do so would be "a dirty shame."

Above right: Relief camp dining hall workers pause before serving a meal. Because the Depression-era workers did so much manual labour, park authorities made sure they were well fed.

KEN MACPHERSON PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVE, THE MILITARY MUSEUMS LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

HMCS *Skeena* in harbour. The Canadian ship was sent to quell a rebellion in El Salvador in 1932.

CANADA INVADES EL SALVADOR!

Our comical efforts to crush a 1932 'Bolshevik' uprising had a terrible outcome. *by Mark Reynolds*

The customs official stood in the tropical heat at the end of the jetty, ready to single-handedly face a platoon of heavily armed Canadian sailors arriving by motorboat. He and the rest of the people of Acajutla, El Salvador, had been keeping a wary eye on two foreign warships since their arrival in the harbour the day before. With the countryside in open revolt, rumours were flying. Even so, the news that the strange blue flag — the Naval Jack — on the prows of the two destroyers was that of Canada seemed bizarre. What did these men from far to the north want here?

In fact, the sailors of HMCS *Vancouver* and HMCS *Skeena* had only a hazy notion of why they were in El Salvador. All they had been told was that there had been a coup — and that communists were stalking the jungle, threatening British-owned coffee plantations and railways. Their mission was to rescue any endangered British expatriates. The motorboat bumped up to the jetty, and the sailors scrambled out. So it was that on January 24, 1932, Canada's first invasion of a foreign country began.

This strange adventure began two days earlier, when the *Skeena* and the *Vancouver* were steaming south in the Pacific Ocean under the command of Captain Victor Brodeur.

Respected by both his men and his superiors, Brodeur possessed quiet competence and practical good humour. He also stood out because he was French-Canadian with a thick accent and held a prestigious command in a service whose traditions were shaped by the British Empire.

Brodeur's vessels had left the naval base at Esquimalt on Vancouver Island seventeen days before and were on their way to joint exercises with Royal Navy vessels in the Caribbean. Brodeur expected no trouble. In fact, he even anticipated a friendly trade mission, for the *Skeena* was carrying a selection of Native artifacts and products from British Columbia to trade in friendly ports of call in the U.S. and Mexico.

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Victor Brodeur as a rear admiral during the Second World War.

But on the evening of January 22, the commander received an unexpected request from British Royal Navy Rear Admiral V.H. Haggard. Haggard asked that Brodeur's Canadian vessels be diverted to El Salvador "to render such assistance to British subjects at Acajutla as may be necessary." Brodeur was astute enough to know that when Britain made a request his government would not refuse. Thus, before even receiving confirmation from Ottawa, he made speed for Acajutla, a sizable port town with an important, British-owned rail link to the capital, San Salvador.

Brodeur had little idea of what he was sailing into. His orders, when confirmed by Ottawa, were to liaise with the British chargé d'affaires and to protect British lives and property.

The ships entered the harbour of Acajutla on the morning of January 23. To the local people, who had already endured much hardship, the grey gunships looked menacing. For much of the previous year there had been conflict between government forces and rebels. The latter were mostly indigenous people — the Pipils, also known as Cuzcatlecs. Pipils worked on British- and American-owned coffee plantations and were among the poorest of El Salvador's people.

The elected government had proven ineffective in quashing the rebellion. Thus, in December 1931, a coup brought General Maximiliano Martinez to power. A fascist sympathizer who admired Hitler and Mussolini, Martinez used brutal methods to fight the insurrection.

By the time Brodeur arrived in Acajutla, El Salvador's expatriate community was in a panic. British railway staff had abandoned their interior posts. One of the first things Brodeur did was bring several railway employees' wives on board the ship for their protection.

Reports about what was happening were confusing. Newspaper accounts claimed that communist insurgents had murdered more than a thousand people in the countryside, burning villages and bombing public buildings. The newspapers also said "the flower of the aristocracy" in San Salvador were roaming the street in armed gangs, shooting suspected communists on sight.

The British were not the only ones who were alarmed. American authorities in El Salvador were frantically demanding military protection from their government. This resulted in two American vessels making for Acajutla at a breakneck twenty-five knots. When the Americans arrived at the port, "they were surprised and a little disappointed to see a British flag first," Brodeur noted later.

It wasn't long before Brodeur heard from Britain's chief diplomat, David Rodgers, who was based inland in the capital city of San Salvador. Rodgers demanded that Brodeur send a platoon to the capital immediately. Rodgers claimed, somewhat hysterically, that Bolshevism had gripped the country so much that "inside San Salvador some seventy-five per cent of the population are secret sympathizers awaiting their opportunity."

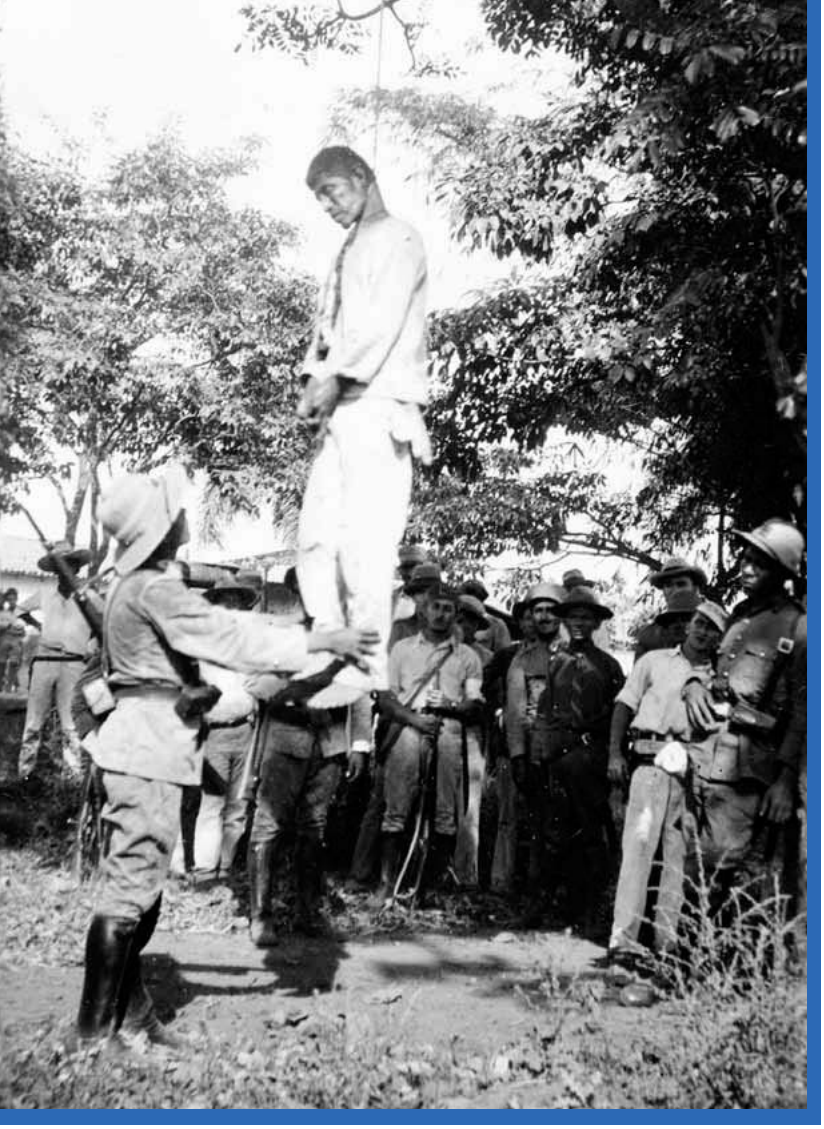
Despite Rodgers' pleas that he land an armed party immediately, Brodeur was not inclined to make rash decisions. He sent only a small party with an officer to meet with H.B. Towning, the local British vice-consul. Later on January 23, he landed a signalman to facilitate communication with the capital. The next day, Brodeur himself set off for San Salvador to meet with Rodgers. He was accompanied by two sailors — one armed with a Lewis light machine gun.

While Brodeur was en route, Rodgers again contacted the Canadian ships to demand that an armed platoon land to protect British life and property. This time the officer in charge of the *Skeena* — the delightfully named Lieutenant Horatio Nelson Lay — agreed to send an armed party into the town. The *Vancouver*'s senior officer, Lieutenant Commander C.F. Hart, refused. Hart did not want to go ahead without hearing from Brodeur first.

Unaware of what was transpiring back in port, Brodeur travelled the road to the capital, receiving his first disquieting hints that the "Bolshevik" revolution was not all that it appeared to be. White flags fluttered everywhere he passed; houses, cars, and people all bore them. The scraps of cloth were meant to identify non-combatants in the hopes that it would protect them from the indiscriminate anti-Bolshevik activities of General Maximiliano Martinez's army.

But the flags of neutrality fluttered in vain. Brodeur saw the body of a man shot dead by the rail bed. Martinez's men hadn't even bothered to remove the white banner proclaiming his innocence.

Meanwhile, back in Acajutla, the so-called "invasion" of El Salvador commenced. Forty-one heavily armed sailors made for the pier. Crewman Gordon Summers recalled what happened next: "As we neared the land end of the jetty, a lone Salvadorean officer held up his hand. We about-turned and [went] back to our boats."



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The hanging of revolutionary leader Jose F. Ama by El Salvadoran government forces in 1932.

The invasion appeared to be over, but Rodgers was not through yet. After the men had returned, he again contacted the ships and ordered the men ashore. The Canadian platoon again boarded the launch and made for shore. This time they made it past the pier before they were stopped by Towning, the British vice-consul. He directly countermanded his superior's order, telling them they did not have the authority to march on San Salvador.

In the end, the rifle-wielding sailors would not fire a shot. When Brodeur finally arrived in San Salvador and re-established communication with his men, he discovered what had happened. He immediately ordered that they secure the pier but proceed no further. While the on-again, off-again occupation of Acajutla proved to be something of a joke, its effects proved far-reaching.

Brodeur was not able to find any credible evidence that foreigners were in any danger from communists. Every report he investigated proved to be false or exaggerated. In a report Brodeur wrote for the Canadian government months later, he noted that panic had clearly infected Rodgers. The British diplomat was barely keeping up with events, due to "the lack of calm co-operation from his staff and his assistants, and especially from the General Manager of the British Railway." The latter had gone so far as to send messages to Brodeur purporting to be from Rodgers. It was not said whether these signals accounted for the contradictory orders that led to the invasion of Acajutla.

Nonetheless, Brodeur and Rodgers made their way from the embassy to meet with President Martinez. Brodeur reported that the general initially seemed offended to learn that foreign troops had landed. But the dictator's mood improved after Brodeur assured him that the Canadians stood ready to guarantee the security of Acajutla. The commander returned to his ships the next day, and by January 26 Martinez's army had crushed the rebellion. The *Skeena* and the *Vancouver* were able to resume their trip to Panama by January 31.

But first, Brodeur was invited to visit the Sonsonate district, where much of the fighting had occurred, with two of Martinez's generals. He was shaken by what he saw. Far from a land laid waste by communist ideologues, most buildings were untouched, including the mansions of plantation owners known to be fair employers. Churches and holy icons were intact; only government offices were consistently targeted.

"The above facts would seem to prove that the insurrection, though of a bloody nature, was not communist," Brodeur said in his report to Ottawa. "From observation, it is very doubtful if the Indians that took part in the revolution knew what Bolshevism meant. To them it meant an organization to release them from slavery."

By the time the insurrection ended, Martinez's soldiers had killed between ten thousand and forty thousand people in what amounted to an ethnic pogrom against the Pipil. The insurrection is remembered as the Matanza (the massacre) in Salvadorean history.

In his report, Brodeur pulled no punches in expressing what he believed Canada's intervention had wrought: "There is no doubt that the presence of the ships on the coast strengthened the president's stand considerably, as he immediately started sending troops out of [San Salvador] when he found we were prepared to act in case of an emergency. The landing of that platoon had a wonderful effect on the moral [*sic*] of his troops."

Canada had unintentionally helped an unelected dictator perpetrate an atrocity against his people. A professional military man, Brodeur did not condemn his military masters' decisions. But he did make his sympathies clear in a secret report he sent to Ottawa after the fact. He noted the ill treatment of the indigenous people, who worked in unsanitary conditions "surrounded by flies and dirty water … [and] paid very low wages." He added: "My personal opinion is that the revolution was entirely due to a lack of consideration for the Indians. There are only two classes in Salvador, i.e. the very rich, and the Indians. The very rich are very few, and these few left the country the minute the trouble started."

Despite the alarm about a communist takeover, only one communist membership card was found amongst all the thousands of dead revolutionaries. Brodeur kept it as a souvenir.

Whether Brodeur's message was heard in Ottawa is not known. His report probably gathered dust as he rose to the rank of rear admiral and commanding officer on the Pacific coast during the Second World War. He retired after the war and died in 1976 at the age of eighty-four.

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Prairie pioneer

Cheryl Girard discovers her family's link to the Red River Settlement.

COURTESY CHERYL GIRARD

François-Xavier Joubert, second row, far left, poses for a photograph with his wife and family, date unknown.

My mother-in-law is ninety-one years old — and as sharp as a whip. Whenever we visit her, somehow, the conversation always gets around to history and growing up on the prairies of Manitoba. Sometimes her grandfather, who had lived during the time of Louis Riel, comes up in conversation. But she has never been in any particular rush to get any of it down on paper.

One summer afternoon, when we drove out to Elie, just west of Winnipeg, to visit her, she surprised us. She pulled out several pages on which she had translated, in her beautiful handwriting, the story of her *pépère*, which had previously been recorded by her family only in French.

I always knew that Mom's roots extended back through Canadian history for centuries. But, after reading her notes, I began to appreciate that here was an actual glimpse of someone who came to Manitoba as a pioneer. Her grandfather arrived, settled, and endured during a time when Manitoba as a province had just been born.

François-Xavier Joubert, born in 1853 in St. Denis, Quebec, was the second-last child of fifteen children born to Olivier Joubert and Delphine Gareau. Orphaned before the age of five, he was taken in by his maternal grandparents.

He was going to be a teacher, but, with teaching jobs scarce, he learned shoemaking and moved to Ottawa to work.

As fate would have it, Joubert found himself making a pair of shoes for Father Noël-Joseph Ritchot, who played a key role in the creation of the province of Manitoba. Ritchot was in Ottawa in 1873 to meet with federal government officials to discuss western affairs. Ritchot told Joubert about the new province and the need for teachers there. Joubert made up his mind to accompany the priest on his return trip to Manitoba.

But first Joubert left for St. Denis to say goodbye to his family. By the time he returned to Ottawa, Ritchot's expedition had already left.

Undaunted, he set out by train, boat, and wagon, taking eighteen days to reach Winnipeg. It's rumoured that he may even have travelled into Manitoba with Métis leader Louis Riel.

Finally meeting up with Ritchot at St. Norbert (now part of Winnipeg), Joubert was hired to be the first teacher for a school at Ste. Agathe, a community south of Winnipeg.

During his early days in the West, Joubert learned to hunt. Hired to hunt bison in Sasktatchewan, he was introduced to expert hunter Gabriel Dumont, who would go on to become the renowned Métis leader who led the Northwest Resistance of 1885 with Riel.

Evidently sympathetic to his Métis friends, Joubert at one point circulated a petition in support of Riel after the latter led the Red River Rebellion in 1869–1870. Catholic francophones like Joubert were concerned that increasing numbers of anglophone Protestants arriving from the east would threaten their language and religion. But the petition did little good, for Riel was exiled in 1875.

Joubert first settled in St. Norbert. During this time, Ritchot was encouraging francophone families living in the United States to come to Manitoba. One such family was that of Noël Tétreault. Having nowhere to live initially, the family accepted Joubert's hospitality and a romance soon blossomed between their daughter Rosalie and their young host.

The Tétreaults eventually bought land near Saint-Pierre-Jolys. Joubert followed them, buying himself a river lot there in 1876. The story is that he married Rosalie in 1877 after walking about fifty kilometres from St. Pierre to Winnipeg in order to buy a wedding band.

The couple was among the first twenty pioneering families to settle in St. Pierre. Joubert, a devout Catholic, became very involved in the community and was dedicated to his beloved province.

Known for his generosity, Joubert's door was always open to the English, French, Ukrainian, and Mennonite newcomers who were arriving almost every day in Manitoba. Joubert Creek and Rue Joubert in St. Pierre are both named after him.

Cheryl Girard is a Winnipeg-based writer.

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PROVINCE OF PROMISE

An Illustrated History of Quebec: Tradition and Modernity
by Peter Gossage and J.I. Little
Oxford University Press
Don Mills, Ontario, 2012
389 pp., illus., $35 hardcover

Published as the sixth volume in Oxford University Press's Illustrated History of Canada series, Peter Gossage and J.I. Little's recent book covers Quebec from Samuel de Champlain to contemporary issues of the hijab and gun control.

Abandoning a narrative model of national history, the authors take an innovative approach to chronology and interpretation and elevate the genre of survey history with their elegant writing. Their book represents a sharp break from a generation of national histories written in the 1980s with emphases on industrialization and political correctness on the national question.

The work's subtitle, *Tradition & Modernity*, is significant. Gossage and Little situate Quebec history around the polarities of an "identity grounded in the past and its traditions ... and another, more forward-looking identity that is attentive to science and technology, to modern ideas ... and to the promise of what might be."

They give only cursory attention to worn benchmarks like the Conquest, the Quebec Act, Lord Durham's report, or the War of 1812 and instead take a fresh approach to perennial themes in Quebec history. Rather than presenting tradition in the context of a backward Catholic peasantry, for example, they speak to the persistence of the corvée, or statutory roadwork labour, and resistance to municipal and educational reform.

Modernity is associated with Montreal, and they give place to its urban dominance, its immigrant communities, and its cultural duality. Indeed, the centuries leading to the rebellions of 1837 are rapidly covered under chapter titles relating to the fur trade, settlement, and military matters; on the other hand, ninety pages — nearly a third of the text — are devoted to the six decades since 1960. Here the authors dig into "Quebec's growing diversity" and what they call the establishment of "a modern, transparent political culture." They poke the historian's stick at social issues around sexuality and the pill, gender inequality and feminism, gays and lesbians, and youth power in the CEGEPs (post-secondary colleges) and universities.

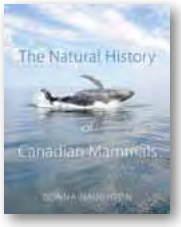
No history of Quebec can avoid the national question, two referendums, and the repeated election of Parti Québécois governments that have sovereignty as a principal objective. While presenting both sides of the debate, Gossage and Little leave little doubt as to their historical take on what they call "the promised land of sovereignty." Respected historians at Concordia University and Simon Fraser University, respectively, Gossage and Little are determined not to be dismissed as outsiders. Pointing out that they are "Quebec-born historians with deep roots in the province," they insist that "most general statements about Quebec society" into the nineteenth century "simply do not apply to the substantial [English-speaking] population that lived in the freehold territory."

They give careful attention to complex issues around language and schools but are not tender with Bill 101 (1977), the province's "comprehensive and restrictive language law." They write passionately of a government running "roughshod over individual rights and liberties," "language police," and both corporations and thousands of English-speaking Quebecers voting with their feet by leaving for Toronto or Calgary. For the Québécois, on the other hand, it was "a fresh start" and "a national coming of age."

Writing of the aftermath of the 1995 referendum, Gossage and Little come back to the charge, urging nationalists "to give up on their dream of an independent Quebec and focus on other things." And they throw their weight behind historian Jocelyn Létourneau, well-known for the barbs he has exchanged with sovereignists and his depiction of tension between "ancient founding myths" and "new myth." This makes for a lively history, rich in its historiography and writing and, with its upfront critique of nationalism, one that will spark sharp reception.

Since this should become the go-to history of Quebec, I see two principal negatives. The lack of a general bibliography outside the footnotes weakens the work for students and general readers. Another surprising downside is the weak reproduction of the maps (on pages 54 and 69, for example) and some illustrations (such as on page 88). Excellent captions have been wasted by a publisher who has produced "An Illustrated History" in which nine colour images are awkwardly placed while several of the black-and-white illustrations are unattractive and undecipherable. These difficulties could be remedied in an inexpensive paperback version aimed at the student market.

Reviewed by **Brian Young**, emeritus professor of history at McGill University and a former board member of Canada's History Society.



FURRY COUSINS

The Natural History of Canadian Mammals
by Donna Naughton
Canadian Museum of Nature, Toronto, 2012
824 pp., illus., $69.95 hardcover

Sea Otters of Haida Gwaii: Icons in Human-Ocean Relations
by N.A. Sloan and Lyle Dick
Haida Gwaii Museum,
Skidegate, British Columbia, 2012
190 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

The heft of *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals* is comforting — much weightier than my laptop computer. The loving work of over a decade, this encyclopedia com-

mands respect and offers the old-fashioned security that at any moment I can look up any Canadian mammal.

Remember: A mammal is a warm-blooded creature with hair and mammary glands. Flipping through this book with my son, we start with the only primate in North America, *Homo sapiens*, followed by the only other mammal whose impact on the land is visible from space: the North American beaver. Next come another 213 species in ten orders. Each creature is described in four dense pages that include the animal's range, abundance, ecology, biology (diet, reproduction, behaviour, vocalizations), and signs of their presence. Beautiful illustrations, skull diagrams, and footprints are helpful for identification.

The book includes mammals with naturally occurring populations in the wild in Canada until recent times, as well as skull and print diagrams of introduced species with currently self-sustaining wild populations (think pigs, rats, and horses). It provides a great overview of the biology and taxonomy of the mammals of Canada and gives an inkling of their fascinating histories.

I zeroed in on the largest of the mustelids, *Euhydra lutris*, the sea otter, to complement my reading of *Sea Otters of Haida Gwaii: Icons in Human-Ocean Relations*. The encyclopedic *The Natural History of Canadian Mammals* offers great context for this more in-depth book on the sea otter, hinting at its tumultuous history of abundance and its near extinction.

The story of sea otters in the Pacific Northwest is an old story, and it is familiar. *Sea Otters of Haida Gwaii* offers insight into a classic humans-and-nature story. The intention of the authors is clear: to document the tale of this species and to offer perspective and hopefully foresight for current and future human-nature relations.

The book begins with a poem by Guujaaw, the iconic former president of the Haida Nation, and continues on to strike a good balance between science and narrative with diagrams and explanatory boxes. Its first chapter outlines the basic biology and ecology of the sea otter. Far from the cuddly creature we imagine we know, the sea otter is a hardy mammal entirely built for a life aquatic with the thickest (and therefore most gorgeous) fur of any mammal. It is essential to the balance of the kelp ecosystems as a "keystone" species. Sea otters once ranged from Mexico up through the Aleutian Islands of Alaska and toward Japan.

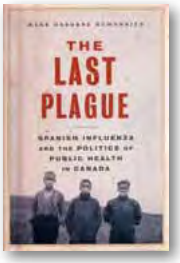
In the second part of the book, the drama of the "beautiful weasel" unfolds. The "discovery" of the Pacific Northwest by Europeans led to the "soft gold rush" between 1785 and 1840 and international trade in sea otter pelts. The saga of the sea otter involves a collision of cultures, violence, epidemics, distrust, great wealth, and the ambitions of seafaring men. The traders recorded some of the earliest accounts of the Haida people, who would hunt and sell pelts to Westerners; their notes are fascinating to read.

For a brief time, the sea otter was one of the world's first globalized trades; Spaniards, French, Americans, Russians, and Portuguese clamoured to trade with the Haida and other First Nations on the coast, then continued their two-year journey to Canton (Guangzhou) to sell the unparalleled furs to adorn the Chinese elite. At the height of the trade in 1805, some eighteen thousand pelts were traded in Canton. But within a decade the number of animals showed a steep decline. At the same time, epidemics devastated the Haida population, ending trading in many areas. The boom was brief, and the bust was final: Sea otters were eliminated in Haida Gwaii and on the rest of the Canadian coast.

Pockets of surviving sea otters in Alaska and California allowed the eventual reintroduction of sea otters in British Columbia. The book's final chapter discusses the complex challenges involved in bringing back a species high enough on the food chain to rival our exploitation of other resources. It includes an introduction to the marine area planning and conservation underway in British Columbia. Authors N.A. Sloan and Lyle Dick outline co-operative coastal and marine planning agreements and give a nod to the complex relations between the provincial, federal, and First Nations governments along the coast and on Haida Gwaii. For me, this chapter outlines a practical approach to hope — hope that in going forward into this new century we can learn from our very human mistakes, managing our actions towards better relationships with sea otters and with the natural world upon which we all depend.

These two books offer a significant contribution to the natural history of Canada. One is a compendium of information on the diversity of the fuzzy creatures of Canada; the other is a window to the history and significance of one of these creatures for our human narrative. In "the age of Noah" — as Thomas Friedman has called our time, when we struggle to save disappearing species — we would do well to study our biological cousins and base our management of human effects on their ecosystems. These two books can help us in this important endeavour.

Reviewed by **Severn Cullis-Suzuki**, a culture and environment activist and writer and the host of *Samaqan: Water Stories* on APTN.



DEADLY RETURNS

The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada
by Mark Osborne Humphries
University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2013
336 pp., illus., $32.95 paperback

Canada's sixty thousand Great War dead were a collective spectre over the young Dominion. Almost every community from across the country had bled for the victory. In the war's terrible aftermath, with a fragmented country facing debt and uncertainty, Canadians banded together to build memorials to the fallen. Throughout the 1920s, and continuing episodically to the present, thousands of memorials were erected, with the names of the killed etched in stone, as a constant reminder of the nation's sacrifice for King and country.

Yet, even as the last shots were fired on the Western Front on November 11, 1918, thousands of Canadians were succumbing to a lethal plague. This pandemic attacked young and old but was especially deadly against normally healthy Canadians in their twenties. The Spanish flu as it was known — it was reported first in Spain, where there were fewer military censorship regulations — raged throughout the world, spreading

terror just as millions of soldiers were demobilized from the fighting armies to return to their homelands. Often the flu was waiting for soldiers in their communities; they arrived home not to cheering crowds but to silent graveyards.

The flu was the stuff of nightmares. Hitting Canada in three waves over 1918 and 1919, it was an unusually virulent and deadly respiratory disease that was transmitted through human contact. There was no cure. Like in the war, some lived and some died. Across the country, families were wiped out. Mass graves were filled. Social gatherings were cancelled. Men, women, and children walked in fear, with white-gauze face masks covering their noses and mouths. Terror stalked the land.

Mark Humphries, one of Canada's leading Great War historians and a professor at Memorial University, has researched in multiple archives to reconstruct the disease and its effect on Canadians. The first three chapters of *The Last Plague* contextualize Canada's previous pandemics and diseases, especially the cholera outbreaks of the 1830s. Humphries provides new evidence regarding medical authorities' attempts to quarantine the infected. The core of the book focuses on the waves of flu that hit Canada, with the most deadly occurring over the winter of 1918–19. Two final intriguing chapters explore how Canada's public health governance developed in the flu's aftermath, telling us much about the interaction between civilians and the state in the sphere of health in the 1920s.

This fine book chillingly dissects the disease as it burned through Canada as well as the failed attempts by authorities to stop it. In the end, some fifty thousand Canadians were killed over a period of less than a year (and somewhere between fifty and one hundred million worldwide — the wide variance being due to poor record-keeping in many Asian and African countries).

In Canada, the number of monthly deaths was far higher than anything experienced during the terrible Great War. But, unlike the wartime sacrifice that continues to live on in public memory through anniversaries, books, movies, and acts of remembrance, there are only a handful of memorials to the Spanish flu victims of 1918–19. Humphries' *The Last Plague* may not be a memorial to the dead, but it is a detailed, scholarly reminder that the flu had a tremendous impact on Canadians, and then on public health care. It also reminds us that the plague deserves a place in our collective memory.

Reviewed by **Tim Cook**, author of six books including *Warlords: Borden, Mackenzie King, and Canada's World Wars* (Allan Lane, 2012).

More Books

A Portrait of Lunenburg County: Images and Stories from a Vanished Way of Life
by Peter Barss
Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, 2012
176 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

Although the book is called *A Portrait of Lunenburg County*, it's the words that enthralled me. Don't get me wrong — Peter Barss's photographs of the people on Nova Scotia's South Shore who earn hardscrabble livings from the sea are stunning in their black-and-white starkness.

But as a Maritimer and a Nova Scotian now living on the Prairies, I had forgotten how much I missed the poetic ebb and flow of the Maritime accent. This book is an oral history of a land that time has, in large measure, passed by. Sure, the kids today all play video games and dream of moving to the big city, meaning Halifax — yet there are still plenty of Lunenburgers holding true to the old ways.

As one fisherman remarks, when asked whether he'd be better off getting a job on the factory floor of the Michelin plant in nearby Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, "When you come to t'ink on it, us fellers got a lot that other fellers ain't. As far as somebody bossin' me around, I don't have that. I can do my own bossin'. That's worth a lot sometimes."

— **Mark Reid**

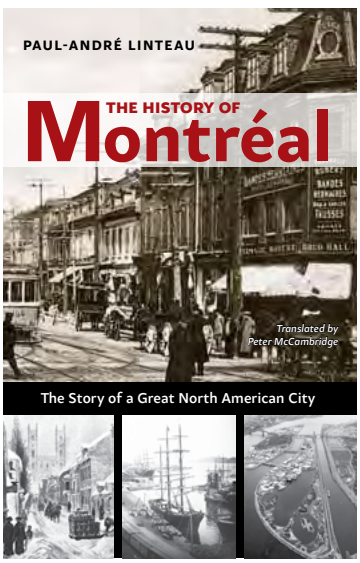
Imagining Winnipeg: History Through the Photographs of L.B. Foote
by Esyllt W. Jones
University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg, 2012
182 pp., illus., $39.95 paperback

Stories of a rapid rise and an equally dramatic fall have long shaped both academic and public understanding of Winnipeg's early history. In the first part of the twentieth century, it is popularly believed that nearly anything was possible in the prairie metropolis.

In *Imagining Winnipeg*, social historian Esyllt Jones contests this optimistic interpretation of the period through the work of its leading photographer, L.B. Foote. Jones traces the narrative of progress, the coming of white civilization, and commercial expansion in the frontier city through the eyes of an artist who made a living documenting it for the world to see.

On one hand, Foote's photographs show Winnipeg at its best. He captured many happy memories of the city's elite taking part in their leisurely pursuits. He even famously photographed Prince Edward and his brother Prince George at the CNR station in 1927.

Other photographs, however, show some of the deepest poverty in the history of Canada. His images grant the



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The History of Montréal
The Story of a Great North American City *
Paul-André Linteau
Translated by Peter McCambridge

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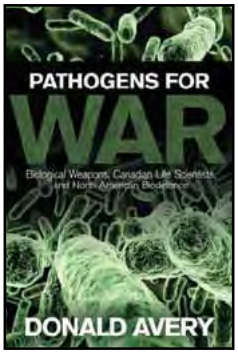
modern eye an intimate window into the lives of ordinary people, and his iconic photographs of the Winnipeg General Strike from 1919 are known around the globe.

The Archives of Manitoba's Foote Collection is invaluable to historians like Jones. Her book marks the first time Foote's photographs have been put together as the work of a single producer outside the archives.

Imagining Winnipeg is at the same time a coffee-table beauty, a collection of intriguing photographs from a time past, and one of the most creative analyses of this period in Winnipeg's history since Alan Artibise's influential books over thirty years ago. It will forever change your impressions of the city.

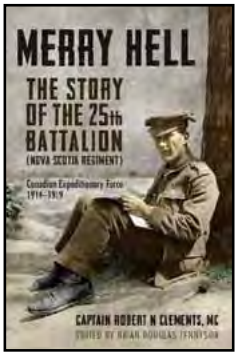
— Hayley Caldwell

NEW FROM UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS



Pathogens for War
Biological Weapons, Canadian Life Scientists, and North American Biodefence
by Donald Avery

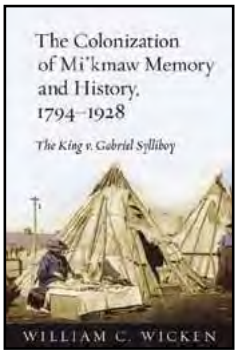
Donald Avery investigates the challenges of bioterrorism, Canada's secret involvement with biological warfare, and presents new insights into the perils of bioweapons – one of today's greatest threats to world peace.



Merry Hell
The Story of the 25th Battalion (Nova Scotia Regiment), Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1919

by Captain Robert N Clements, MC
edited by Brian Douglas Tennyson

Merry Hell is a captivating tale for those who enjoy stories of war and battle, and one that will entertain readers with Clements's richly colourful anecdotes and witty poems, none of which have been published before.



The Colonization of Mi'kmaw Memory and History, 1794–1928
The King v. Gabriel Sylliboy

by William C. Wicken

Winner of Canadian Historical Association's Macdonald Prize and Clio Atlantic Prize

In this award winning book, Wicken uses the testimony of six Mi'kmaq men in the 1928 Sylliboy court case to explore how individuals and communities remember key events in their past.

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Working the Dead Beat: 50 Lives that Changed Canada
by Sandra Martin
House of Anansi, Toronto, 2012
448 pp., $29.95 hardcover

The *Globe and Mail*'s preeminent obituary writer has selected fifty Canadians who died between 2000 and 2010. Her goal was to provide a "composite picture of Canadian politics and society in the twentieth century, from before the First World War to the Internet age."

Sandra Martin readily admits that obituaries are not historical biography; these shorter works are limited by not having the perspective that only the distance of time can offer. In this collection based on her writings for the newspaper, Martin has updated and added to obituaries about people whose passage was just a few short years ago.

In *Working the Dead Beat*, she writes about the purpose and challenges of obituaries and stresses the importance of "getting it right," since for many of these individuals the obituary will stand for some time as the sole first draft of their historical record.

Martin achieves her goal in this fascinating collection of life stories. Her subjects range from the most iconic of change-makers, like former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and the National Ballet's Celia Franca, to Ralph Lung Kee Lee, one of the last Chinese head tax survivors, and Helen Kathleen Allen, whose regular adoption columns in the *Toronto Telegraph* most assuredly changed many lives.

While the collection as a whole tells a story about our society and the people who have shaped it, the greatest treasure Martin offers comes from the insights that appear with each entry — these insights tell a great story about the human journey.

— Deborah Morrison

A Neighbourly War: New Brunswick and the War of 1812
by Robert L. Dallison
Goose Lane/NBMHP,
Fredericton, New Brunswick, 2012
180 pp., illus., $17.95 paperback

Of all the conflicts during the War of 1812, the fighting in Atlantic Canada is likely not the first to come to mind. *A Neighbourly War*, historian Robert L. Dallison's third

volume for the New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, tells the story of the fighting — and, for a while, the lack thereof — between New Brunswick and Maine, its neighbour to the south.

The two sides continued to trade even after the beginning of the war. But eventually the relationship became strained, and New Brunswick and Maine began a battle that would leave their border undefined for almost thirty years.

Dallison's book offers a wealth of useful and interesting information. Though its subject matter is not always riveting, the author keeps the story fresh by never dwelling too long on any particular moment in the war. While Dallison's research is extremely thorough, his writing is rarely academic in style. Whenever possible, he makes use of images and illustrations, and he uses quotations to give the reader a feel for the characters involved.

At less than 150 pages, *A Neighbourly War* is a brief and straightforward account of a unique period in the history of Atlantic Canada.

— **Mark Schram**

Canadians and the Natural Environment to the Twenty-First Century
by Neil S. Forkey
University of Toronto Press,
Toronto, 2012
168 pp., $24.95 paperback

A History of the Nature Conservancy of Canada
by Bill Freedman
Oxford University Press,
Don Mills, Ontario, 2013
262 pp., illus., $29.95 hardcover

For a quick and very readable overview of Canada's complex history of environmental issues, Neil Forkey's latest book is a good choice. *Canadians and the Natural Environment to the Twenty-First Century* is a slender volume that combines an immense amount of data with straightforward storytelling.

Forkey, a visiting Canadian studies professor at St. Lawrence University in New York, delves into the record as far back as the 1600s to explore the ongoing tension between the need to exploit the environment and the need to protect it. For instance, as early as 1620, missionary Gabriel Sagard was lamenting the imminent collapse of beaver populations in New France due to over-trapping to meet fur-trade demand.

Meanwhile, ginseng, a medicinal root much valued by Native people, was pretty much tapped out in New France by the 1750s, thanks to a short-lived but brisk trade with China. Desperate Aboriginal harvesters even took to setting forests ablaze in 1752 in their search for the precious medicine.

Forkey explores how environmental controls came to be put in place. By the 1860s, there were already strong calls for government intervention to set aside forest reserves to quell rapid deforestation. But it was hard to turn the tide — by the First World War, ninety per cent of mature woodland south of the Canadian Shield was gone.

The book looks at how our view of nature has changed over time. By the 1800s and 1900s, romantic views of the environment took hold and nature was seen as worth preserving for its own sake. But it wasn't until after the Second World War that a strong environmental movement took shape.

The book provides a good overview. My only qualm is that it contains no illustrations of any kind.

Environmental issues can feel overwhelming, and oftentimes individuals are at a loss to know what difference they can make. So it's nice to see a book like *A History of the Nature Conservancy of Canada*. It's the story of how a few volunteers came together in 1962 to establish a charity that today is supported by forty thousand donors and that manages 2.2 million acres of ecologically important land nationwide. Land trusts such as the NCC work with the private sector to establish protected areas.

Author Bill Freedman is a biologist, and, while he writes with a scientific mind, he also writes with passion. As he states in an early chapter: "We *do* love the natural world. But sometimes we hurt the one we love." It's a statement worth pondering.

— **Nelle Oosterom**

Relics of Interest: Selections from the Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection
by Jamie Morton
The Manitoba Museum,
Winnipeg, 2012
80 pp., illus., $11.99 paperback

Jamie Morton opens *Relics of Interest* with a concise history of the Winnipeg-based Mani-

GREAT WHITE FLEET
Celebrating Canada Steamship Lines Passenger Ships
by John Henry; foreword by Paul Martin

The passenger steamers of the Canada Steamship Lines were known as the Great White Fleet. Nearly half a century after the last passenger boats sailed, this highly illustrated book will provide a window into a wonderful lost way of life. Includes over a hundred colour and black and white images.

UNDER THE BLUE BERET
A U.N. Peacekeeper in the Middle East
by Terry "Stoney" Burke

From inexperienced soldier to seasoned veteran of nine U.N. missions in Cyprus, Israel, Lebanon, and Syria, Terry Burke gives us a detailed account of a peacekeeper's life in the ever-turbulent Middle East.

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toba Museum's origins as well as the genesis of the Hudson's Bay Company collection. But the substance of this book is a selection of artifacts highlighting the history of Canada's oldest company.

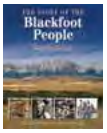
Twenty-four items are featured from a collection of more than twenty-five thousand pieces. The chosen artifacts represent the jewels of the HBC collection's crown. The book's main photographs are large, showing fine details, and they are accompanied with smaller images of candid scenes, sketches, and other artwork.

This book could just as easily be about design within a fur-trade context. It is a collection of nineteenth-century fashion, art, furniture, tools, inventions, and watercraft as used by indigenous and immigrant populations.

This includes items like the Halkett boat, an inflatable one-person dinghy designed in the 1880s and used for Arctic exploration. Made from a combination of cotton and Indian rubber, the boat was stored in a wooden box. With only one other Halkett example still known to exist, it is truly rare. The boat is in excellent condition, leaving experts to believe that it has not actually been used.

Relics of Interest is an excellent choice for someone new to fur-trade history or who is looking to learn more about the Red River Settlement era. But even a long-time fur trade enthusiast will likely find a gem or two that they have not previously encountered.

— Tanja Hütter



The Story of the Blackfoot People: Niitsitapiisinni
by The Blackfoot Gallery Committee
Firefly Books,
Richmond Hill, Ontario, 2013
104 pp., illus., $19.95 paperback

The book *The Story of the Blackfoot People* is an extension of a special permanent exhibition of First Nations history and culture at Calgary's Glenbow Museum. Filled with images both historical and modern, it tells the tale of the Niitsitapiisinni, or "Real People" — the indigenous peoples of Canada.

Specifically, it focuses on the various Plains peoples that make up the Blackfoot, including the Kainai, or Blood; the Pikunni, or Piegan; and the Siksika, or Northern Blackfoot.

As someone who has lived in Alberta, I found seeing the province through the perspective of Blackfoot peoples to be a revelation. A book well worth reading, this illustrated volume serves as a great introduction to a wealth of cultural history waiting to be explored.

— Mark Reid

Soldiers of Song: The Dumbells and Other Canadian Concert Parties of the First World War
by Jason Wilson
Wilfrid Laurier University Press,
Waterloo, Ontario, 2012
248 pp., illus., $24.95 paperback

The Great War is remembered as a terrible and senseless conflict where a generation was put through the sausage-grinder of stalemate and slaughter. Nine million were killed, including more than sixty thousand Canadians.

The civilian soldiers who formed the ranks of all armies suffered under terrible

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Alf Erling Porsild, 1901-1977

Wendy Dathan
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strain, but they found coping mechanisms in the midst of destruction. Laughter, humour, pranks, and songs helped them to endure.

Meanwhile, behind the lines, concert and theatre groups offered humorous skits and performances to bolster morale. In *Soldiers of Song*, Jason Wilson has produced a groundbreaking study of these concert parties, with a focus on the most successful of them, the Dumbells.

Wilson, a scholar and two-time Juno Award nominee, has researched deeply to unearth and reconstruct the popular songs, irreverent jokes, and cutting barbs directed against the war effort, generals, and the enemy. His work reminds us that the more than 450,000 civilian soldiers who served overseas came from all professions, including actors, comics, and musicians, and that they too contributed to winning the war.

— **Tim Cook**

Visit **CanadasHistory.ca** to read more reviews, browse the latest titles, and purchase books online.

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Whether they were mascots, working animals, or pets, animals brought solace to First World War soldiers serving at the front. *by Tim Cook and Andrew Iarocci*

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A recent court case has shined a harsh spotlight on Ontario's long, anguished history of caring for thousands of outcasts, who were once labelled "idiots." *by Heather Robertson*

Super Storm

This November, many people living around the Great Lakes will take time to remember the centennial of the worst storm ever to track across the inland seas. *by Bruce Kemp*

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CANADA'S HISTORY

ANNUAL REPORT 2012

MAKING HISTORY

MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

Many readers know Canada's History best for this quality publication produced six times a year. Indeed, the magazine continues to be our principal activity with more than forty-one per cent of our annual revenues devoted to the print edition alone. However, since the Society was first formed by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1994, the purpose of the organization has always been much broader: to promote greater popular interest in our history through a variety of means, including public events, travel tours, educational programs, and awards and support for others in the field.

Fortunately, these dual roles complement each other. Many of today's magazines are extending their reach by developing new platforms — websites, live events, contests, and special-issue publications — to meet growing expectations from their readers and to attract new ones. We are no different. But, in our case, we are also using these new platforms to bring Canada's diverse history community together and to strengthen our collective capacity to engage more Canadians in a meaningful exploration of the past. This is particularly important as we prepare for an unprecedented string of significant national commemorations, culminating in 2017 with the 150th anniversary of Canada becoming a nation.

Although the current world of print publishing is a challenging one, Canadian history seems to be attracting unprecedented attention. In 2012, we realized a forty percent growth in newsstand sales as well as one of the highest increases in readership among Canadian magazines analyzed by the Print Measurement Bureau (PMB). We also developed new website channels for students and for history travellers, launched new educational contests, and hosted our largest National History Forum and Governor General's History Awards event to date.

In the pages that follow, we report on these activities and highlight some of the people and organizations that have contributed to or benefitted from our efforts. The road to 2017 is open for even more exciting new initiatives to be created, and Canada's History, with your continued support, is well-positioned to take a leading role in the commemorations. We welcome your suggestions and feedback about our activities.

— Richard W. Pound

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

Canada's HIstory Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The Society's work includes *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards

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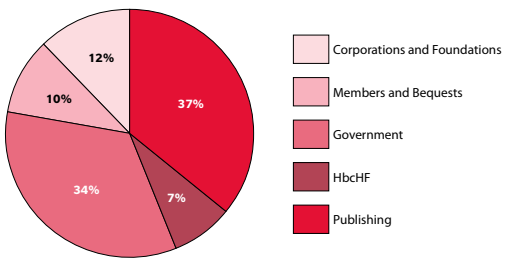
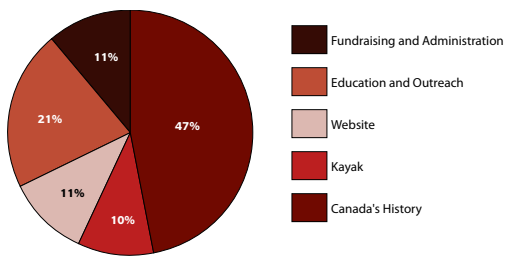
Through their subscriptions and donations, readers provide 34.5% of our annual operating revenues, for which we are extremely grateful.



HOW YOUR DOLLARS ARE SPENT

Slight increases in expenses for Kayak and the Governor General's History Awards compared to 2011 were offset by a 4% reduction in administration and fundraising costs.



PICTURE PERFECT

Student filmmakers showcase Canadian history.

Brandon Snyder already had a big love of history, but when he started his Heritage Fair project he had no idea his passion could be so rewarding. The twelve-year-old from Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, was one of more than 110,000 students across the country who researched history projects and presented them at school and community exhibitions in 2012.

The top two students at each fair were given a camera and challenged to create a news-style video about their project. The videos were then posted online.

Brandon was one of the two hundred "Young Citizens" selected for the video contest, which was sponsored by Canadian Heritage's Youth Take Charge program, Scotiabank, and Great-West Life.

Brandon's imaginative video about the War of 1812 combined interviews and archival images with staged re-enactments to tell the story of the war and its impact on Canada's development.

After a summer-long round of online voting, during which more than ninety thousand Canadians helped Canada's History Society choose the winners, Brandon was among the six student finalists selected to travel to Ottawa to present their videos at the National History Forum. The Young Citizens also met Governor General David Johnston at Rideau Hall. Brandon described the Ottawa experience as "amazing," adding, "since coming to Ottawa I've wanted to learn even more about the history of Canada."

However, that wasn't the end of Brandon's journey. This spring he won the Atlantic Film Festival's Best Short Film Documentary award, and the mayor of Bridgewater presented him with a medal on behalf of the city.

That's a lot of incentive to get a jump on your next school project. We asked Brandon what he has planned for this year, and he's pretty confident he's got another blockbuster on his hands: "I'm not currently working on anything at the moment but I have a few ideas I'm thinking of. So I'm looking forward to coming and seeing everyone again!"

HEAD OF THE CLASS

Ultimate Class Field Trip a dream come true for Toronto students.

Kelly Campbell, a teacher at St. Pio of Pietrelcina School in Mississauga, saw a posting on an Ontario teacher's Facebook page for a new illustrated history-writing contest and thought it would be a great opportunity for a particularly creative group of students she was working with in her history class. Together, they decided to take an imaginary student named "Ty" on a journey through Canadian history.

To prepare for the project, each student had to undertake some research about a destination and write a story about Ty's adventures there. "We spent many recesses and a lot of free time preparing for the contest," said Campbell. "However, many of the places are spots we talk about in Grades 7 and 8 history, so it certainly overlapped the curriculum."

When she learned that her class had won the Canada's History Ultimate Class Field Trip contest, Campbell was thrilled. Gathering the students, she let them in on the big news.

"I burst out, 'We won the contest!' [Then] I started to cry, because I was so proud of our accomplishment," she said. "The kids jumped out of the chairs, were hugging one another, and were also crying. We were all in disbelief."

The prize was a four-day trip to the Ottawa region. Campbell said that for many of her students it was their first time in the nation's capital. With the help of EF Tours, which provided the trip, and their local Member of Parliament, Eve Adams, the students were treated to VIP tours of the House of Commons and the Prime Minister's Office and visited many of the museums and historic sites in the area.

Campbell said the trip made a lasting impact on her students. "Seeing these places in real life brought Canada's history alive for them," Campbell said. "It was a unique experience they will never forget."

The trip also inspired Campbell, who has already planned a new class trip for her students that will see them visit key War of 1812 sites around the Niagara region of Ontario.

"We actually had our school's tenth anniversary in May and made a top ten list of our school's accomplishments — and winning this contest was number one."

BUILDING MOMENTUM

Governor General's Award provides big boost to Calgary heritage project.

When it comes to our built heritage, every home has a story to tell. The challenge for heritage enthusiasts is getting those tales out to a wider audience.

A Calgary group has found a unique — and award-winning — way to do that.

The Century Homes Calgary Project, winner of the 2012 Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming, saw heritage enthusiasts work with owners of century-old homes to help them research and publish the histories of their properties. The fruit of that research was printed on signs and displayed on the front lawns of the homes during Historic Calgary Week, which took place in July 2012.

The project was a smashing success, with more than five hundred families taking part. Winning the Governor General's Award has served to propel the project to new heights, says Cynthia Klaassen, a spokesperson for Century Homes Calgary.

"We thought [applying for the award] would be a wonderful way to acknowledge the success of the event we held last summer," Klaassen said. "It also provided us with an opportunity to share our idea across the country."

When the group learned that it had won the award, the first thing Klaassen did was call the CHC committee together. Although two representatives typically travel to Ottawa for the official awards presentation, Century Homes brought almost a dozen. In a delightful display of sharing and solidarity, the members took turns wearing the medal during the gala dinner. Klaassen says a personal highlight for her was receiving the award from Governor General David Johnston at Rideau Hall. But the celebration didn't end there. Upon the group's arrival back in Calgary, CHC was feted during a special reception hosted by the City of Calgary.

The award has re-energized the committee, which is pressing forward with plans to build on the success of the program this summer. The award has helped to make that possible, Klaassen says. "It has opened doors for us at some higher-level funding agencies."

A REAL PAGE-TURNER

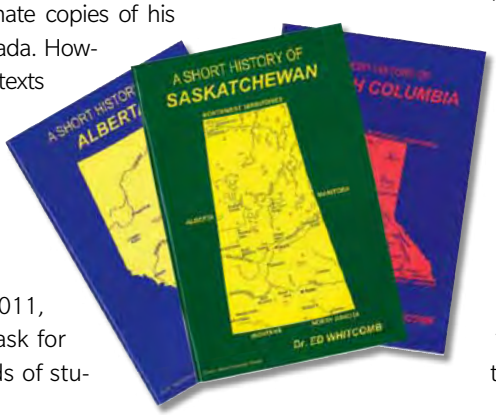
Canada's History helps historian donate books to students.

Edward Whitcomb firmly believes that Canada's "wonderful history" should be shared, especially with young Canadians.

Over his storied career, the former history professor and foreign service worker wrote books on the histories of Canada's ten provinces, selling thousands of copies along the way. Now retired, Whitcomb decided recently to donate copies of his books to schools and libraries across Canada. However, the logistics of distributing the texts seemed daunting.

"My plan was to donate them to schools and libraries ... but administering that would have been a nightmare," Whitcomb explained.

Enter Canada's History Society. In 2011, Whitcomb approached the Society to ask for help in getting his books into the hands of students. Using the Society's existing educational networks, more than 3,600 copies of the books were gifted to 1,200 school libraries across Western Canada.



Whitcomb generously donated the books and covered all the costs for distribution. When asked what inspired him, Whitcomb said: "High school teachers are overworked, library budgets are shrinking quickly.... For the teachers and students who do go beyond the text and still find hard-copy books useful — if not a pleasure — then those books are available, and they will help those who use them to better understand Canada's wonderful history."

A native of Oak Lake, Manitoba, Whitcomb is a graduate of the University of Manitoba and the University of London, England. He taught history at universities in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Manitoba. He also served in the Canadian foreign service in Yugoslavia, Thailand, Indonesia, and India and spent fifteen years as a strategic analyst in the Privy Council Office. He has sold more than twenty thousand copies of his books through his publishing company, From Sea to Sea Enterprises.

CANADA'S HISTORY BY THE NUMBERS

Total readership per issue (PMB Spring 2013 Study)	874,000
Print subscriptions (AAM December 2012)	38,809
Average single-copy sales per issue	3,413
Average monthly online total visitors	26,050
Average monthly online unique visitors:	20,973
Page views per month:	72,869
Newsletter subscribers:	14,500
Webinar participants	425
Digital-only subscribers:	209
Print subscribers also using tablet edition:	63
Heritage Fairs/Young Citizens participants	110,000

THE WRITE STUFF

Sanford Riley internships create connections with University of Winnipeg students

SYMON PASHNICK

For the past three years, Canada's History has offered students at the University of Winnipeg the opportunity to get real-life work experience in public history, thanks to a special internship program.

Each year, one or two students join the Canada's History team to work in the editorial department or in marketing and development, depending on their field of study. The paid internships are made possible thanks to the generosity of former board member Sanford Riley, who founded the internships as a way to strengthen the relationship between the Society — now headquartered on campus — and the University of Winnipeg. The goal of the internships is to spark new projects in history that bridge the gap between academic research and the popular exploration of our past.

Since the program's inception, the interns have helped research and write stories for the magazine and website, plan public lectures and film screenings on campus, and organize national book tours for the History Society. This year's intern, Hayley Caldwell, has played a key role in researching and writing the stories of First World War veterans for inclusion in our new book, *Canada's Great War Album*, which will be published in the fall of 2014.

IMAGINE NATION

Producing War of 1812 videos a marvellous experience for historian.

Even as a twenty-first-century history professor at Western University, Tim Compeau hadn't had a lot of experience working with digital media. But the challenge of telling the stories of the War of 1812 via a series of short videos was something he couldn't resist. "I thought of these videos as gateway histories that could provide the basic facts and a little editorial content, but most importantly bring out the drama of these events. These videos could be an easy way to get acquainted with the events and hopefully inspire the audience to want to dig deeper on their own."

ANDREW WORKMAN

Tim Compeau (left) and Joel Ralph in uniform at War of 1812 Re-enactment.

Compeau and the new media staff at Canada's History developed a concept loosely based on Benson Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812* (1868). They travelled to numerous locations over the course of two weeks to create ten videos that were then posted online. "To travel to all the major battlefields in the Niagara region, southwestern Ontario, the St. Lawrence, and even Washington, D.C., was a dream road trip," Compeau said.

"We packed so much in, from tagging along on a tall ship while it invaded Canada, to tracking the British route from the Chesapeake to Washington, to camping out with the 41st Regiment at Stoney Creek. It was such an amazing experience. To have to really think about what and where things happened, right at the locations, brought the history alive for me, and I hope we were able to share that with the audience."

The video series was funded by the TD Bank Group and the Department of Canadian Heritage. Compeau acknowledged some of the criticism surrounding the attention given to the War of 1812 commemorations. But he countered that "the debates surrounding the bicentennial provide an excellent opportunity to examine what people value from history, what they choose to forget, and why. From my own experience, however, the bicentennial has energized the historical communities in many cities, towns, and villages across Ontario."

2012 HONOUR ROLL

Each year, Canada's History Society makes an appeal for donations to support its current programs. This year's fundraising efforts realized a total of $1,941,389 in charitable contributions from our members, corporations, foundations, and governments. Canada's History extends a special thanks to all of our donors for their generosity. Gifts of $100 or more have been recognized in this honour roll.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

RAY HENRIKSEN/BATTLEOFTHETHAMES.CA

Re-enactors in Fanshawe Pioneer Village, London, Ontario, get ready to fire during a 2011 restaging of the Battle of the Thames.

In the fighting spirit

This summer, Ontario is home to two epic re-enactments of pivotal battles in the War of 1812. by Nancy Payne

Let's get this out of the way: We lost. Both times.

Oliver Hazard Perry's American fleet crushed the British navy in the Battle of Lake Erie, while the defeat of British, Canadian, and First Nations forces at the Battle of the Thames marked the end of aspirations for a Native homeland in North America.

But if you don't mind hearing about a few of the key losses for Canada's side in the War of 1812, you're in for some impressive re-enactments of both battles later this summer and fall.

On October 4 and 5, more than fifty thousand spectators are expected to gather for the bicentennial commemoration of the Battle of the Thames (BattleOfTheThames.ca), near Thamesville, west of Chatham, Ontario. Spoiler alert: It won't be a noble victory. It won't even be a noble defeat. British forces broke and ran, leaving First Nations fighters to be slaughtered by the Americans under William Henry Harrison.

The Battle of the Thames is also where the great Shawnee leader Tecumseh died, although who killed him and how is lost to history. Stories abound that his men spirited his body away and buried it secretly so it couldn't be desecrated or taken as a trophy. After his death, the Aboriginal confederacy imploded, taking with it First Nations' hopes for a separate territory where they could live free from American settlers' greed for land.

There is no significant site honouring Tecumseh, but the Friends of the Tecumseh Monument group is raising money for an extensive park and memorial near the battle site (TecumsehMonument.ca).

The week leading up to the battle will see commemorative events throughout the Chatham-Kent region, including a theatre festival, special museum exhibits, an archaeological dig and a canoe flotilla. A week-long meeting of First Nations entitled Rekindling Tecumseh's Vision, starts September 29.

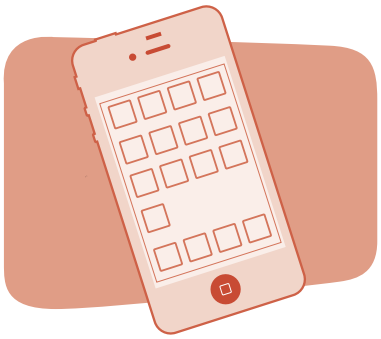
Mark Dickerson has fought the Battle of the Thames at least twenty times, but nothing compares to the excitement building for this year's commemoration. Sometimes he's part of the US 27th Infantry; at other times he's a Royal Scot. "I usually dress as a British officer, but it would be nice to be on the winning side, and American General William Harrison is an ancestor of mine," said Dickerson, who's a dentist in nearby Chatham when he's not on the battlefield. He says he and other re-enactors are especially pumped about two events: The re-creation of the American cavalry charge that broke the British line and a gala ball on October 5.

Pelee Island is a great base for the spectacular action of the Battle of Lake Erie (BattleofLakeErie-Bicentennial.com) from August 30 to September 1. The island itself has a fascinating history, showcased in the Pelee Island Museum (PeleeIslandMuseum.ca) across the street from the ferry terminal.

Its history has long been interwoven with that of the United States. Indeed, from the island you can see the soaring monument — subtly named Perry's Victory (nps.gov/pevi/index.htm) — at Put-In Bay on South Bass Island, Ohio, the focal point for the battle commemoration. Besides the tall ships and cannon fire, there will be parades, fireworks, and celebrations galore on both sides of the border.

But lest these events sound like they'll be too heavy on gunpowder and gee-whizzery, rest assured that time will be taken at both re-enactments to honour those killed and wounded in the battles.

Nancy Payne is a freelance writer in Reaboro, in south-central Ontario.

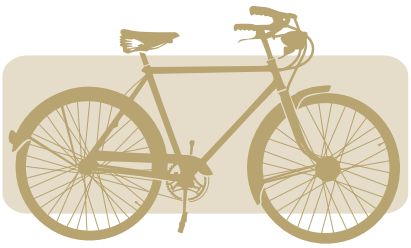


High-tech history

Several southwestern Ontario regions have joined forces to promote War of 1812 events, sites and experiences through Route 1812 (1812Ontario.ca). It's an app for smartphones or tablet computers that guides users around the region, providing historical information and suggested stops (1812.MyWeeverApp.com). You can plan a multi-day tour with as many as twenty-one destinations, or one-day tours of top sites. Route 1812 is a driving trail which follows General Proctor's retreat from Fort Amherstburg through to Thamesville.

Tall ships on tour

If you can't make it to the Battle of Lake Erie, you can still see tall ships during this summer's Great Lakes Challenge. The majestic vessels will move west from Brockville in mid-June to Toronto and Hamilton. Then they will go north to Sault Ste. Marie and back south through Collingwood and Penetanguishene, finishing in Lake Erie with visits to Windsor, Amherstburg, Leamington, and Kingsville around the time of the battle. The last stop is Montreal in mid-September (SailTraining.org/TallShips/2013GreatLakes/Index.php).



Visiting Pelee

Quiet Pelee Island will be bustling during the Battle of Lake Erie, so check ferry schedules and arrange a place to stay ahead of time (Pelee.org). There are plenty of cottages, bed and breakfasts, a few motels and inns, and a small campground. Tours of the island's heritage are available. The best way to explore is by bicycle; a shop near the ferry dock has rentals. Cycle to the Fish Point Nature Reserve and walk down the kilometre-long sandspit — you'll be at Canada's most southerly point. Don't forget to wear a hat and bring lots of water.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Fishing in style

The men in this 1922 photograph are fishing off the dock at a spot at Latchford, Ontario, where the Montreal River widens to form Bay Lake. The three men are enjoying rare moments of relaxation away from their busy jobs.

Thomas W. Carlyle, left, was the manager of the Bank of Toronto in the nearby mining town of Cobalt. James Hylands, centre, was a mine manager and stock promoter. He was also the grandfather of Vivian Hyland, who contributed this photo. On the far right, puffing on a pipe, is mining engineer Donald J. Russell, who was James Hyland's son-in-law. The identity of the young boy is not known.

The photograph is of interest because of the clothing worn — note the knee-high leather boots, jodhpurs, white shirts, vests, ties, and fedoras. Cobalt was a mining town with wooden sidewalks and unpaved streets surrounded by bush, so clothing had to be rugged and, in the case of mine managers at least, also stylish.

This photo has hung on the wall of Vivian Hylands's home in Cobalt, Ontario, for about eighty-five years. *Text by Nelle Oosterom.*

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your submission to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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